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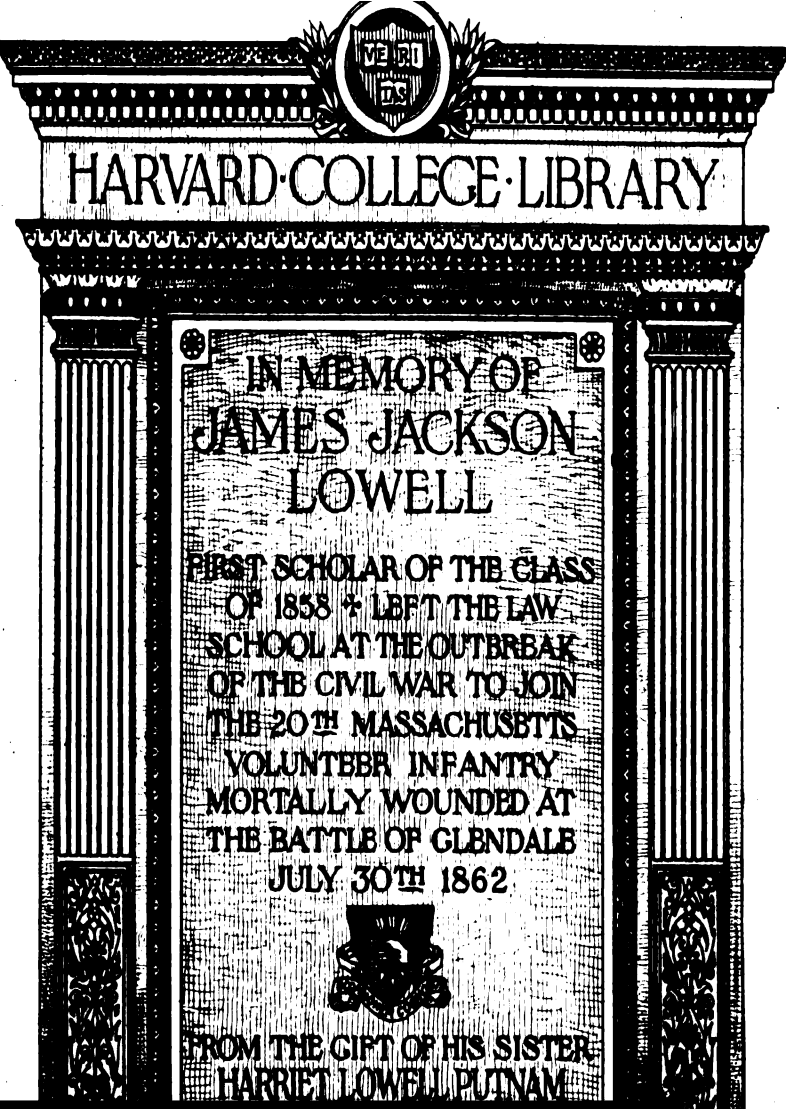

Christian Socialism and Its Opponents

John Malcolm Forbes Ludlow

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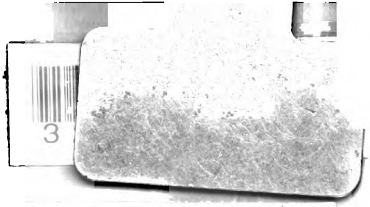

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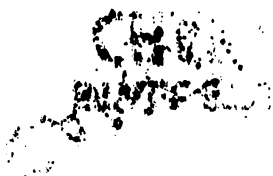

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A LECTURE,

DELIVERED AT THE OFFICE FOR PROMOTING WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

GOD AND MAMMON:

A Sermon to Young Men,

PREACHED IN ST. JOHN'S DISTRICT CHURCH, ST. PANCRAS.

BY

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CHAPLAIN OF LINCOLN'S INN.

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When the *Guardian* shall have discovered the *Socialism* of partnership, it will perhaps find less fault with our name. In the meanwhile, we shall be heartily glad of its support for our Working Associations, notwithstanding its attack upon our Christianity and Churchmanship, which cannot be here answered.

The Wesleyan organ, the *Watchman*, has also devoted an article to the "New Aspects of Socialism;" but as it adopts all the conclusions of the *Edinburgh Review*, though with far less of critical dogmatism in its tone, I need not here more particularly refer to it.

One kind of opposition the Associative Labour Movement has by this time outgrown—the vulgar abuse with which, shortly after the establishment of the first Working Association, a London daily paper—which for its own credit I will not name—spoke of those "disciples of the Père Maurice, who had taken up the shears and opened at least one co-operative tailors' shop in London;" whilst "others had put into circulation little slips of printed paper, quite worthy of the Luxembourg in nonsense, folly, and mischievous tendency."

THE END.

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of the *Christian Socialist*, p. 97. It will be sufficient to state that the *Reasoner*, whilst acknowledging common Socialist principles with ourselves, found fault with us for not "confining" our Christianity to our Tracts, "or some other proper place," so as to keep the proselytism of the Church distinct from social or political reform." The *Reasoner* has since reproduced the above referred-to article, and disclaimed further controversy, telling us that it is "far easier" for it "to combat Christianity when confounded with the gross topics of shillings and pence, than when it bears the proud and attractive pretensions of being an independent, a pure, and a sublime speculation."

With the *Reasoner* may be classed, to a certain extent, *Robert Owen's Journal*, which, whilst giving Christian Socialists "full credit for honesty of purpose and the best intentions, persists in declaring, contrary to our most constant teachings, that "the religions of the world are the sole cause of all its sin and wickedness, of its repulsive feelings, contests, and mad conflicts, and to which, while these religions govern man, there can be no cessation or termination."

APPENDIX C.

THE GUARDIAN, ETC.

THERE remains to be said a few words respecting the *Guardian* newspaper, which, since the date of my Lecture, has published a series of articles on "Christian Socialism," written in a not wholly unfriendly tone. The *Guardian* admits and deplores the intensity of the evil "of competition,"—"commends and believes in the efficacy of the remedy" of Working Associations; but it is unable to see that there is any Socialism in Working Associations, "unless every partnership be a Socialism also," and deems that co-operation may "guide, regulate, check—if you will, counteract—competition," but cannot "annihilate it;" so that "to set up such co-operations as in principle antagonistic (in the sense of completely subversive) of the natural law in question, appears to it as great a mistake, as it would be for a society for saving lives from shipwreck to call itself a society for putting down the law of storms."

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as the prelude to his greatest achievement, and on the banner of the Social army would write this motto,

"*God expects every Man to do his Duty.*

"N. V. E."

Since the above article was written in reply to the *Eclectic Review*, the writer has had an opportunity of seeing a letter from the author of that review, written in a friendly spirit, professing his wish to forward the co-operative movement, but expressing at the same time his opinion, that in the form of that movement recommended by the writers of the *Tracts on Christian Socialism*, there is a tendency to centralization which he considers as injurious, and which, therefore, as a conscientious man, he could not but find fault with. The writer of the reply in the *Christian Socialist* desires to express the satisfaction which this explanation has given to him, and at the same time to disclaim any intention of treating otherwise than with respect the opinions of those who constitute the numerous body known in England as Independents or Congregationalists. He is well aware of the sincerity and earnest benevolence by which many eminent men among that body have been distinguished; and would hope, ere long, that the practical Christianity of co-operation will draw them together with others, from whom the intellectual differences of theology now hold them asunder. But with all respect for the Protestant independence by which men of this persuasion are distinguished, he cannot but feel that they stand much in need of more of that Catholic feeling of union out of which the desire of co-operation arises, and of which the present co-operative movement is, in his belief, a genuine result. He trusts that what he has said in his review of the tendencies of Congregationalism in certain respects, will be looked upon only as the earnest expression of this conviction.

APPENDIX B.

THE REASONER AND ROBERT OWEN'S JOURNAL.

It does not appear necessary to reproduce here an article entitled "A few words to the Reasoner," which appeared in No. 13

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this diversity of powers will doubtless give rise to jealousies, to rivalries, and heart-burnings among men; doubtless, therefore, there will always be the spirit of competition, the desire of superiority, existing abundantly among them. But is it indeed come to this,—in the middle of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, in this country which, as our friends of the *Eclectic Review* would tell us, possesses alone almost of the whole world, except the United States of America, the pure light of Gospel truth, undimmed by Papal superstitions, undissected by Rationalist investigation,—that the worship of this Devil of rivalry is gravely recommended by writers who claim to enjoy the brightest and most constant rays of the sun of Protestant truth? Let them look well to their position. For assuredly no form of Fetichism which their missionaries may combat in Africa is more clearly a Devil-worship than this which they advocate. But we tell them advisedly, we will not join in this worship. 'Be it known to thee, O King, that we will not bow down to the image of Gold which thou hast set up.' In the name of all that is holy in the achievements of art, in the name of all that is glorious in the triumphs of genius, in the name of all that man has ever done of great and noble upon this earth, in the name of God the Father of our race, do we protest against the doctrine that the Creator gives no other, purer, holier motives of exertion to mankind, than the desire of superiority. Not because we believe that men would be idle under a system of Communism is it that we are opposed, as we are opposed, to those who would propose as the ideal of Socialism, the absorption of the family in the commune. We oppose that system, because we believe that the family life is a divinely appointed and most important part of human society, and that it is not by destroying or weakening those bonds of mutual dependence by which the child is bound to the parent and the parent to the child, but by extending beyond the limits of the family circle that feeling of common interest which under the present instance stops short at the threshold of home, that the social regeneration of mankind will be achieved by the universal triumph of Christianity. While we would maintain, then, the sacredness of family ties, and, as a necessary consequence, the inviolability of individual property,—subject only to such modifications in the mode of its enjoyment as are required for the realization of that union of interests which association demands,—we look, as the moving principle of action, not to the selfish stimulus of competition between individuals or associations, but to that nobler motive imperfectly enunciated by our greatest naval hero

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their riches to enable him to arise out of the atmosphere of selfishness engendered by the system of competitive industry. But to confuse with this spirit, as the *Eclectic* reviewer does, that spirit of self-will, which spurns assistance instead of thankfully using it, which disdains advice instead of looking to it and endeavouring to profit by it, which cannot endure government, although it be honestly directed to the good of the governed, is assuredly to mistake the mock jewel for the genuine stone. The sturdy independence so generally characteristic of the Saxon race, is doubtless commonly associated with an honest, fearless straightforwardness, which we justly admire; but it is also not uncommonly associated with a spirit of self-will, which needs to be well watched and subdued if we would associate at all: and it is precisely because the spirit of Christianity, which would have us honour others rather than ourselves, is opposed to this and every other selfish tendency by which men are kept at a distance from each other, in isolated individuality, that we proclaim it as the true spirit of association, the secret life of the co-operative body.

"But *competition*, high honoured, blessed competition; what shall we say to the charge that we refuse to worship at the shrine of this great god? We say fearlessly that we do refuse to worship there at all. We do denounce, not as the reviewer would have us do, only the abuse or excess of competition, but the *system* of competition, the setting forth the *spirit* of competition, *that is the desire to surpass*, or, in trading language, to beat out of the market some one else, as the great curse of industry; the bane of healthful exertion. —That there are diversities of gifts, diversities of utterances of that deep Spirit of Whom all life is the utterance, different in their value, and therefore entitled to be valued differently, we know well. All members are not the same member, as an apostle has eloquently told us: 'the eye is not the hand, nor the foot the head;' all are needful, all are of the body, all alike entitled to be cared for by all the rest; but all have not the same function, nor are all entitled to the same reward. And therefore in the plan of co-operative exertion proposed by the advocates of Christian Socialism, there is included, as the reviewer ought to have known, the proposal that wages should vary according to the nature of the work done, and the skill and industry of the workman. Now so long as men are born babes into the world, so long as goodness is the slow result of long years of patient self-training, of learning to conform our selfish individual wilfulness to the perfect will of Him by Whom we are sustained,

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attraction for persons in this state of mind. To union, if it do not go beyond the sort of union which may be obtained by a single congregation, to a union such as the Working Tailors' Joint Stock Company established in the spring of last year in Oxford-street (to which, be it said in passing, we wish all success); to the 'exemplary Working Man's Joint Stock Company called the Jersey-street Association,' established two years since at Manchester, for the purpose of enabling working-men to purchase provisions at wholesale prices; or to the similar institution at Rochdale, of which an account has appeared in our earlier numbers, the reviewer is favourable. But there must be two characteristics in such institutions before he will allow them a prospect of success, a separate existence, to which he gives the imposing name of self-reliance, and competition. Now these are precisely the characteristics of Congregationalism.

"The ideal world of the reviewer is the chapel forming the centre for the workshop. Each little knot of separate worshippers, 'judging for themselves how their own affairs should be conducted,' without reference to any one else, in the plenitude of their own infallibility, gathered round the preacher, who naturally feels that to shut him out from *competition*, that is to say, from thinning the benches of a rival chapel by more powerful sermons, would be to fetter him in the 'exercise of the mental gifts with which the Creator has endowed' him.

"From this point of view, the inconsistencies which we have pointed out above cease to be surprising—rather they may be said to be unavoidable, and might be left, without further comment, mutually to destroy each other. Yet it may not be amiss to say a few words in conclusion upon the two defects which the reviewer considers to disfigure the form of association proposed by the Christian Socialists, namely, the want of *self-reliance* and of *competition*.

"Self-reliance is a noble quality, if by it be intended that the individual looks for success rather to that which is to be found in himself, or, say we rather, with God's assistance may certainly be educed out of himself, than to that which is to be done for him by others;—if he look to his own activity, perseverance, true-heartedness and gentleness, his own denial of selfish passion, his own progress in the practical fulfilment of the law of Love—as that by which he is to succeed, rather than to any advances of capital made to him on any terms, however favourable, by those who, being richer than himself, may be disposed to employ a part of

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ances contains the true answer. Are the working-classes to look for guidance from those whose greater advantages of fortune and position may qualify them to be their guides, or are they not? Are we to reverence in Christianity a principle which is to animate our daily life on earth, to give a colour to our actions and a form to our institutions? Does the true service of God involve a perpetual service of our fellow-creatures? or is Christianity a something apart from our habitual life, from our workshops and our pleasures; a thing for pulpits, and platforms, for work-day evening lectures, and 'Sabbath day' observances—a charm by which we trust to open for ourselves after death the entrance to a universe of infinite sweet things, but which on earth is of but little use, except for enabling the preachers in 'ten thousand parish churches every Sunday morning' to declare that 'mankind has not yet learned' it? Are we to judge of the tree by its fruits, or can it be possible that a system which has for half a century been growing and extending itself with a rapidity unexampled before in the history of mankind, and which at last produces results so mournful as those admitted by the *Eclectic* reviewer to have flowed from the existing system of industry, is, notwithstanding this, the expression of a true principle, and its evils but the consequence of causes which a more complete development of the same principles may be expected to remove?

"Meanwhile, however, we will endeavour to give what we believe to be the true explanation of the inconsistencies we have noticed. We confess that the solution puzzled us not a little for some time. Was the author sincere at all, or was his whole article a feint? an attempt to excite distrust in the ranks of Socialism, to divide those whose incipient union was dreaded? to untie the cord which bound the bundle of faggots together; that in this separate weakness they might be individually destroyed? We were unwilling to attribute to a writer who showed some evidence of earnestness, a design so base, and at last found in the peculiar characteristics of the body, of whose opinions the *Eclectic Review* is one of the recognised exponents, a solution of the mystery which we thus enounce. The Social theory of the writer of this article is essentially a congregational theory, his Socialism—for Socialism he has, though a very confused, imperfect Socialism—is a chapel Socialism. The Catholic views of general union which have floated before the vision of the original propounders of Christian Socialism, as they have before that of the great writers who have put forward Socialist theories in independence of Christianity, have naturally but little

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him to the level of the beasts of burden;' to prevent 'the exercise of the mental gifts with which the Creator has endowed him.' Again: 'We believe,' he asserts, 'as sincerely as any wanderer in dream-land, that the spirit of Christianity must pervade *every social* institution, and regulate *every* action of humanity, ere man can hope for rest in his earthly pilgrimage.' But to invite men to realize in their practical life the spirit of honesty and brotherly feeling, to urge them to associate in order that they may be able to carry on their work in a spirit of kindliness to each other, and of strict fairness towards all with whom they deal, to ask them in these matters of daily, hourly occurrence, those little oft-repeated acts which make up the sum of life, to mind 'not their own things but the things of others,' and truly 'do as they would be done by,' and to urge upon them to establish such rules for their common guidance as shall be the natural expression of this principle, in those things which admit of being made the subject of rules,—to teach them that 'there is an order throughout all society which has its natural and necessary expression in united work, and its natural and necessary destruction in individual rivalship,' and that the true mode which those who would strive to realize the kingdom of Christ on earth should adopt, is to proclaim this state of things as that 'which God has made, and which men are trying to set at naught;' to do this—is to teach a narrow and degrading view of Christianity, making it not the great business of human existence as ordained by the Creator of the universe, but a means to an end—success in life!

"Yet once more: 'The present time,' he assures us, 'is one of deep interest and moment in the history of labour; a bright opportunity has opened for men of enlightenment and benevolence to *guide* their suffering fellows into the ways of progress and prosperity.' Yet when a body of persons, of whom he is informed that they include 'some men of considerable talents and educational acquirements, churchmen [we presume he means clergymen] and laymen,' come forward and form themselves into a society to discharge this difficult task to the best of their ability, when they constitute a Council of Promoters 'in order to collect and administer all funds contributed or advanced to this society for the promotion of such objects,' instantly he finds 'centralization at every step,' 'an attempt to teach the mysteries of tailoring and shop-keeping by means of lectures.'

"Surely we make no unreasonable request when we ask of this double-tongued oracle to inform us which of his ambiguous utter-

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APPENDIX A.

"A REPLY TO THE ECLECTIC REVIEW."

THE following pages are the reproduction of two Articles under the above title, published in Nos. 16 and 17 of the *Christian Socialist*, pp. 121, 131.

"It is a difficult task to answer a writer who answers himself—difficult, because, whatever arguments may be urged against one side of his statements or reasonings, he is certain to take refuge on the other, and escape from the attack which threatens to carry his positions through the back door of his own inconsistencies. The author of an article in the January number of the *Eclectic Review*, on the Associated Labour movement, tells us that, 'For half a century has Capital, successor to Feudalism, been regarding unprotected human flesh and bones as its proper machinery and vested rights for money-getting,' till 'in happy England there are millions of bondmen, serfs in body and soul to the grinding oppression of unrequited toil, in starvation and death.' Yet to denounce the principle which has most prominently influenced these achievements of capital, the principle which has, one by one, removed all barriers to its free exercise, supplanted the older system by which it was in part held in check,—to denounce the principle of an unlimited, unregulated competition of individual producers or distributors between themselves, as the source of these evils,—is to propose to 'repeal a law of nature;' to prevent the 'practical exercise of self-dependence, the first law of progress;' to make a simple 'declaration in favour of Communism, which by tying up the energies of man will reduce

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tomer's pocket, however powerful to draw it out. To be drawn out, *there* it must be already; and if the slop-system, especially, last many years longer, it will be as palpable a mockery, as respects the custom of the working classes, as if a thief should offer stolen wares for sale to the man whose pockets he has just rifled. Fool! if you wanted to barter goods for money, you should have left the money where it was. You have made the supply valueless by destroying the demand."—*Prevailing Idolatries; Tract* VI. *on Christian Socialism*, p. 6.

NOTE 21.—It will be sufficient for me to refer here to the series, "Christian Socialism and the *Edinburgh Review*," by J. T. and F. J. Furnivall, contained in Nos. 14—17 of the *Christian Socialist*, pp. 107, 114, 122, 131.

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"But let it not be supposed that the capitalist is benefited, at least, to the same extent which the labourer loses. The competition of the surplus labourers having reduced wages, diminishes the consumption of the mass of society; it diminishes the profits of the capitalist, and his power of accumulation. Not only this, but he is additionally cursed by a superfluity of labour, and taxed to maintain the pauperized labourer; for if he did not do this, he would probably be robbed of the principal by social convulsion."—*Lectures on Social Science*, by James Hole, p. 33.

NOTE 18.—I do not, indeed, expect—I do not wish—our working associations to be considered as the ultimate form of social advancement. I look upon them, on the contrary, as purely transitional, although the period of transition seems likely to last for many years yet. Without speculating upon remote contingencies, I look forward confidently to a period when, all the various aptitudes of all men being developed by universal education, a combination of physical and intellectual, of agricultural and manufacturing labour shall be pursued by all in proportion to those aptitudes, and the division of labour shall be carried out, not by individuals chained down for a lifetime to a particular employment, but by "groups" of men (to use Fourier's expression) carrying on that employment in common and by choice, successively if need be, each for a limited period of the day. But I have not the slightest hope of living to see such a consummation.

NOTE 19.—I trust the foregoing expressions will not be considered as meant to cast any disparagement on the *Edinburgh Review* itself. Lest such an interpretation be put upon them, I will say at once that I have been myself, on one occasion, a contributor to that periodical, and share, therefore, those feelings of friendly regard which all who know him must bear towards its kindly and accomplished Editor.

NOTE 20.—"The custom which maintains the slopseller, and, to a great extent, almost every manufacturer, exists, in fact, in spite of themselves. The purchasing-power through which they live is, in fact, only the residue of that which was created under another system. They might develop their own selling power a hundredfold, and yet be always, as it were, cutting the throat of their future custom. The slopseller might sell dress-coats at ten shillings; but if he only paid sixpence for the making, he would be narrowing and not widening his market. Cheapness puts no money into the cus-

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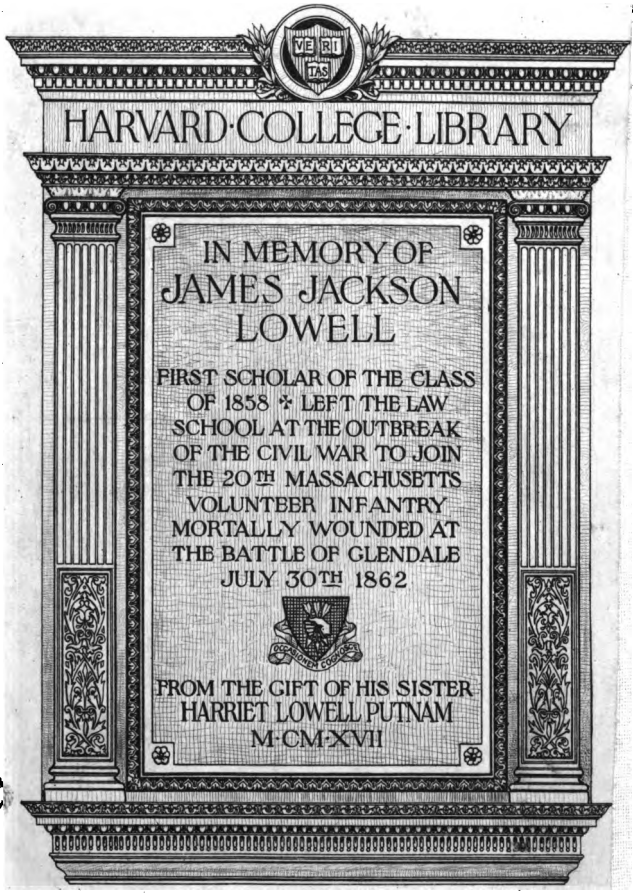

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CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

AND ITS OPPONENTS:

A LECTURE,

DELIVERED

AT THE OFFICE OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS,

76, CHARLOTTE STREET, FITZROY SQUARE,

On Wednesday, February 12th, 1851.

BY

J. M. LUDLOW, ESQ.

OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

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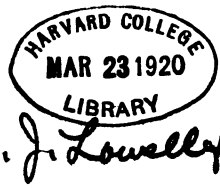

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CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

AND

ITS OPPONENTS,

"THE EDINBURGH REVIEW," "THE ECLECTIC," AND "THE REASONER."

WITHIN the last few weeks Christian Socialism has been assailed from various quarters. The *Reasoner* denounces the use of the name "Christian," and what is implied in it; the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Eclectic*, the name Socialism and what is implied in that word in turn. Each of these journals represents a school. The first, the school of objectors to Christianity as such; the second, the school of the modern Whigs; the third, a powerful section of Dissent. I have been appointed on this occasion to examine before you the various objections urged against us by this strange trio of opponents. I have found, however, in going through my task, that a complete consideration of the objections urged by one of our opponents only, the *Edinburgh Review*, would require more time than I could, with any grace, solicit of your attention; I trust I shall, therefore, be excused for confining myself to this one opponent. I shall have the less scruple in doing so, as to two at least of the above-named journals, that many of the objections urged by the organ of Manhood-suffrage and Dissent, on the one hand, and that of Government

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Liberalism and Government Churchmanship on the other, will be found to be identical. Both confound Communism and Socialism, and having said harder things of the former, identify it with our own principles. Both are horror-struck at the idea of lending money to working men on easy terms, to enable them to start associations, instead of leaving them to self-reliance and empty pockets. Both disclaim any objection to individual associations, provided they are still allowed to compete with one another—"monopoly" for the Whig, "centralization" for the radical dissenter, being at bottom the same bugbear, only considered from different points of view. Both assert the belief in a bright future for the working classes, and unite meanwhile in praising competition, that "practical exercise of self-dependence," of the "mental gifts with which the Maker has endowed man," as the writer in the *Eclectic* phrases it. But since the latter has some misgivings as to the effects of this "practical exercise of self-dependence," which do not appear to have occurred to his Northern contemporary, and seems to admit that it is capable of "abuse" or "excess," whilst the other would allow it to "operate unchecked," it is obvious that any arguments which would apply against the asserter of the unqualified doctrine, will apply with greater force to the asserter of the qualified one.

Before, however, entering upon my subject, I must pause to show the position in which I stand as a lecturer before you. The first lecture on behalf of this society was delivered by a clergyman; the second by a working-man; it is a member of the English bar who now addresses you. Perhaps nothing can better express the extent and meaning of the work which we

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have undertaken than such a succession of lecturers. Our movement is above all a *spiritual* movement, a *church* movement,—I use the word in the largest, deepest sense; but it is a movement which essentially seeks to realize itself in the sphere of *industry*, to regulate itself by *law*. You may give that word, "law," whatever sense you please. We do aim at inscribing the principles of Socialism—Christian Socialism—on every page of the statute-book; we do aim at developing its influence, not against the law of the land, not by its violent subversion, but under its protection, through its means, within its limits; but so long and so far as that protection is denied, we aim at being a law unto ourselves—we are a law unto ourselves. We brook no capricious, still less any secret authority; we have a published document, termed a "constitution," which expresses those general principles in which all our associations are united, and laws for each association; we have bodies or functionaries appointed to execute that constitution for the society at large—those laws for each individual association. All is open, all is free, all is regulated. We know that freedom without law is but another form of despotism; we know that authority without freedom is but another form of licence.

So strong is this legal element in our organization, that if there are, with our President, three clergymen among the ordinary members of the Council of Promoters, there are, on the other hand, no less than four barristers.* I do not say that we number amongst us Judges or Vice-chancellors, Queen's Counsel, or Serjeants-

* Mr. E. Vansittart Neale, Mr. T. Hughes, Mr. F. J. Furnivall, and myself.

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at-law; I am quite ready to admit that the time and trouble which the interests of our society require are more than could be spared out of the leisure even of a leading junior at the bar. Still the word barrister is for none of us an empty title. We are men in actual practice, to be found in chambers, to be seen in court; men living, or endeavouring to live, by our profession; men, if I may speak for myself, who have no worldly prospects beyond it.

And I trust that those of us who have entered upon this undertaking, have done so, not although, but because they were lawyers. It may be that the practice of litigation has led them to long for some more harmonious resolution of social difficulties; it may be that the study of technicalities made them seek after some application of a more simple, and, as it were, living law; or, again, that the penning of verbose Acts of Parliament, destined to remain a dead letter to the masses, made them feel the gulf that separates the statute-book from the nation that it nominally rules; or that a familiarity with the construction of commercial partnerships and companies made them more and more aware of the total absence of legal facilities for the association of Labour. They found thus, in this movement, a work ready to their hand, for portions at least of which all previous experience seemed to have specially fitted them; and whatever may or may not be the ill-results, upon their present or future earnings, of the step they have taken, I believe they have no reason to repent of it. They are still labouring in their vocation, fulfilling their appointed duties, learning to frame, learning to apply, a most real and practical law.

It is especially necessary, as it seems to me, for us

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lawyers to come forward at this juncture, and claim our due place in this movement—our due share in the obloquy which, it seems, is to accompany it. By so doing, we may perhaps remind those persons who would sneer down the clergy as benevolent enthusiasts, and clamour down the working-men as an ignorant mob, that this work is a lawyer's work, as well as a clergyman's or a journeyman's work; that men, who by profession are barely expected to be benevolent, have all to fear from being enthusiastic—men whose daily business familiarizes them with all that is subtle, all that is dry, all that is technical—men who, in the pursuit of their calling, must eschew theory and sentiment as a musician should eschew two consecutive fifths—that these men stand here side by side with clergymen and working-men, fighting the battle of association.

But it would be presumptuous in me to address you as the representative of the legal element in our society, when the Council of Promoters numbers amongst its members a gentleman,* my senior at the bar, of far wider influence than myself, and occupying in this movement, by the services he has rendered to it on many occasions, a far more prominent position. I have, however, a personal duty to fulfil. It was at my house that the project of starting a Working Tailors' Association was first brought forward; it was I who wrote that article in *Fraser's Magazine* (January, 1850), which the Edinburgh reviewer does me the singular honour of attributing to Mr. Kingsley, and which contains, together with a letter by another friend in the *Morning Chronicle*, on the Needlewomen's Emi-

* Mr. E. V. Neale.

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gration Fund, the first public exposition of our plans; it was I who, so to speak, first opened the case of our industrial associations before a Committee of the House of Commons. If our schemes be indeed insane and visionary, I am thus at least as deeply responsible for them, in some respects more so, than any other person. If any one, therefore, is bound to come forward and brave the brunt of present criticism, it is myself.

The *Edinburgh Review* devotes an opening article of thirty-three pages, in the first number of the new year, to "English Socialism and Communistic Associations." I am myself somewhat at a loss how to deal with this article. Two spirits seem to be contending in it throughout for mastery. On the one hand, a spirit of genial, earnest trust in the future, which admits with Chalmers that "the world is so constituted, that if we were morally right we should be physically happy;" which "agrees with the Socialists, that the world can never have been intended to be, and will not long remain, what it is;" which finds ground for "the most sanguine hopes" in the "apparent contradiction between the vast amount of unrelieved misery, and the vast amount of energetic benevolence, now existing in our country," because in that benevolence it sees "ample means of remedying nearly all our ills;" which plainly avows "visions of the future of the working-classes as bright and hopeful as any Socialist could indulge in." On the other hand, a spirit of hard, contemptuous, economic dogmatism, which, assuming for a certain set of doctrines the character of being merely "benevolence under the guidance of science," would fain reduce all philanthropy, all social amelioration, to the measure of its own "sound principles," and flings out imputa-

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tions against a man, who is admitted to be "a zealous and experienced parish-priest," of want of conscientiousness, want of study, wilful shrinking from the intellectual effort of a thorough investigation, not to speak of "disreputable rant," "aimless declamation," &c. But since the authorship of the article seems now universally attributed to one person, of whom I have no wish to speak otherwise than in terms of sincere respect, I trust that, beneath the scorn and pedantry of the Edinburgh reviewer of to-day, we may never lose sight of the energetic, self-devoted Manchester manufacturer of yesterday, who would try first all experiments upon himself, and never shrank from any trial which could make him better understand the trials of others.

One notable misapprehension pervades the greater part of the article, and stares us in the face from its very title. It professes to treat of "English Socialism and *Communistic* Associations;" it talks of Socialism, "or Communism, as we believe it wishes to be called in England." It speaks of the "low and fatal doctrine of the Owenites, and nearly all the Communists, in deifying the omnipotence of external circumstances." It refers to an admission of Mr. Thornton Hunt, as the "most recent and almost official advocate of Communism," that "community of property, logically followed out, will, in the end, destroy the institution of marriage."

Now, I am not going to speak ill of Communism. I cannot hold the title of Communist to be in itself a term of reproach. The early Christians, who had "all things common," were Communists. The monastic orders, to whom we owe free labour, literature, and the arts of modern Europe, were all founded upon the prin-

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ciple of scarcely mitigated Communism. Not to speak of the Moravians, there are at this day several flourishing bodies of Communists in America—the eccentric, strictly Malthusian Shakers, the Rappites or Harmonists, and another body, which has somewhat oddly selected for itself the name of "Economists." In all these instances, we find the practice of a community of goods and of life, when animated by religious principle, bearing the most wonderful fruits of self-sacrifice, energy, industry, power; whilst, as often as that religious principle has slumbered or died away, those evil effects have occurred, which have helped to make Communism and Monkery alike bye-words amongst us,—idleness, beggary, gluttony, or the grossest excesses of sensual passion.

The word "Communist" may, therefore, designate all that is good, as well as it may designate all that is bad. In spiritual matters, Communism is the very law of religious life. All the blessings of Christianity are, in the strictest sense, *common* to all; incapable of being parcelled out into separate and several shares. As St. Paul expresses it, we have "one law, one faith, one baptism, one Lord and Father of all;" Father of that Lord Jesus Christ, concerning Whom the same apostle indignantly asks of the sectarian, individualizing Corinthians, "Is Christ divided?" And with respect to those blessings of the ~~spiritual~~ world, which most fitly typify the blessings of the spiritual world, the air which we breathe, the light which we see by, the sun's warmth, the shade of night, nay, even to those more special pleasures which address themselves to our most refined senses, such as rich odours and sweet music, Communism is still the law of our enjoyment, whether universal or partial. We cannot divide into portions the smell of a

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rose, or the sound of the singer's voice. Those who smell the one, must smell it in common; those who hear the other, must hear it in common.

I do not, therefore, choose to accept this term of "Communistic Associations," used by the reviewer, as a term of reproach. But is it a correct one? It is not. The name "Communist" is one which, rightly or wrongly, we have never assumed. The able writers in the "*Leader*" newspaper may assume it, and justify well their doing so. But it is a fact, that not one of our associations can be called a "Communistic" one. Indeed, except a single society at Leeds, known by the name of "the Redemption Society," which cultivates a farm in Wales, on the principle of community, I am not aware of a single co-operative body in England which calls itself, or is, Communist. Go through all our associations, you will find men throwing in common a certain number of hours of their time, selling their labour under common management, devoting a certain portion of its produce to common purposes—nothing more. The members do not live together,—I trust they will some day,—they not only do not throw their private property into a common stock, but they *divide* their weekly allowances in varying proportions—they *divide* their profits amongst themselves.

But why, it may be asked, do you not call yourselves Communists? You have shown yourself that all spiritual blessings are to be enjoyed in common, that the choicest of material ones are precisely those which are to be so enjoyed. If so, why not others? why not all? I do not think (many may differ from me) that in these days any man can say with any degree of certainty how far the principle of Communism may or may not some day

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extend into our daily life. But there is one point at which the sense of mankind instinctively revolts from it, even in the pages of Plato; when it reaches the sanctuary of home, when it would loosen the marriage-tie, the family relations. Here the individual feeling starts up in arms,—the man stands forth against the community. So long as property alone is spoken of, that individual feeling may perhaps remain dormant; but when once from property the claim extends to persons, from enjoyments to affections and duties, the heart rebels against the fallacious logic of the intellect. Now, when we consider the state of the ancient world,—its great division of mankind into slaves and freemen,—the almost absolute rights possessed by the father of a family over his wife and children,—one cannot be surprised that the Communism of those days should have invaded the family, should have sought its ideal in a community of wives. Men were things and properties oftentimes; women and children, so to speak, always. And so true is this, that the same character attaches more or less to all communities, properly so called, which are to be found amongst barbarous nations, where man is enslaved to man, the wife to her husband, the child to his parent; and when we find, to use the words of our friend Mr. Kingsley, in his letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, a "most hateful form of Communism" existing in our own country, amongst our own peasantry, we may be perfectly sure that with us also, under given circumstances, man has ceased to be a man and free, that he has grown to look upon himself as a slave and a thing. Precisely in proportion as true freedom and manliness extend, precisely in proportion as the worth and dignity of women are understood and

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felt, precisely in that proportion, I confidently assert, will Communism be found restricting itself within its own sphere, that of property and enjoyment, respecting with jealous care that which stands above it—man and his affections. If Communism can *ever*, "logically followed out," destroy the institution of marriage, it is only when the man and the woman cease to be one flesh, and the one becomes merely the plaything or the drudge of the other.

You are now perhaps beginning to see why, without disparaging Communism, we do not call ourselves Communists, but Socialists. Communism is indeed the germ of all Socialism, as it is its extreme limit. Two men must have something in common before they associate; but because they associate, they need not have everything in common. Do you not see that this very word "Communist" has of itself reference to things—the word "Socialist," to persons? Things are *common* to several; men are *socii, associates* or *partners*. The distinction is thus one deep-rooted in everlasting truth. Communism starts from the *thing*, and is in essential antagonism to absolute property; Socialism starts from the *person*, and is in essential antagonism to human discord and rivalry. And such is, indeed, our aim. We begin by recognising man as a person—a living, responsible person, with duties to fulfil, and holy affections to cherish; but we say, that as such he is essentially a social being—nay, cannot be too social. The marriage-tie is holy, because the personality of man is not complete without it; because the man and his wife are one flesh. The family is holy, because it is the germ, the primary atom of all society; because a man's children and near relatives are not a

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property of which he claims unjust monopoly as against the world, but his dearest fellow-partners in the great partnership, where the union of all is only promoted and strengthened by the closer union of some. Having this ground to stand upon, we need no longer fear the mere name of Communism; we may safely recognise the truth that is in it, we may leave in God's hands the further development, if need be, of that truth. So long as Socialism—Christian Socialism—exists, to protest in favour of the sacred individuality of man, of that most divine yet most human fellowship of many members, making together one body, so long will Communism remain innocuous, so long may it become most holy and most true, though it should, with the early Church, have *all things* common amongst its disciples. But precisely in proportion as that individuality of man is forgotten, as doctrines and theories about the production and distribution of wealth claim arrogant precedence of the duties which ought to rule, of the sympathies which ought to inspire, the relations between man and man, precisely in that proportion will Communism, taking Political Economy at its word, be apt to uprear against it its most hideous and grotesque forms of promiscuous enjoyment, to confound the person with the material comforts of his existence, to produce and distribute human beings as if they were nothing more than the cottons which they wear, or the food which they eat. If there be danger in Communism now-a-days, it is the gross materialism of the reigning school of Political Economy which has begotten that danger.

I do not say that we all of us perceive—that we all of us feel—the reasons which I have shown for our calling ourselves Socialists rather than Communists. I will

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not for a moment deny, that almost all the leading forms of avowed Socialism which have yet appeared will be found pervaded with some of the grossest excesses of Communism. Still, the distinction is one which lies in the words themselves, ready to be drawn out; and for all practical purposes it is one which, though often imperfectly understood in this country, is yet familiar, I may say, to all classes on the Continent. Ask any member of the working associations of Paris, which are in many respects the prototypes of our own, whether he is a Communist? he will probably answer at once, No! I am a Socialist; and will refer you to M. Cabet and the Icarians for information as to Communism; whilst these, on the other hand, will equally disclaim the title of mere Socialists, even if they go so far as to admit Communism as coming under the generic term of Socialism at all. We should have called ourselves Communists if we had been Communists; since we were not, we could not do so without violating the etymological meaning of the words Communism and Socialism, confusing the minds of all persons who are aware of the distinction between them, and above all, severing ourselves from that great European movement which, in spite of all follies and excesses, I believe to be the mightiest that has arisen since the Reformation.

You see thus with what curious infelicity the reviewer deals with his subject from the very outset. There are persons in England who call themselves "Communists," who have an organ called the *Leader*, whose most marking representative is Mr. Thornton Hunt. There are persons in England who call themselves "Socialists," who have set up, or helped in set-

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ting up, co-operative associations of working men. But the reviewer, professing to edify the public by his superior wisdom, jumbles the whole thing together in this confused title of "English Socialism and Communistic Associations,"—those associations forming precisely that part of the Socialist movement in England, which cannot with any propriety be called Communistic. This confusion is especially singular at the hands of so ardent an admirer of Mr. Mill, who clearly recognises the distinction—though he does not appear to me to fathom its true depth—where he speaks* of the "larger sense" in which the word Socialism is now employed on the continent; "not necessarily implying Communism, or the entire abolition of private property, but applied to any system which requires that the land and the instruments of production should be the property, not of individuals, but of communities or associations, or of the government."[1]

The first part of the review is taken up by a contrast —invidious, to say the least—between the "thinkers" among philanthropists and the "feelers," by which latter term the writer obviously designates, as the sequel shows, the political economists—*i. e.*, of his own school. For these (see p. 10) he "deliberately claims the merit of the highest and most difficult order of benevolence." He claims for them "the character of being," with the exception of the "laborious and searching administrators of private charity," the "only philanthropists whose efforts do not issue in a preponderance of evil; the only ones who have the manliness to withstand hasty im-

* *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. ii. p. 250. (N.B. The second edition will be always the one referred to.)

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pulses, the industry to investigate before they decide, the judgment to allow the head to direct, while the heart prompts to action; the only ones whose charity is under the guidance of a strict conscience, a lofty purpose, and a humble mind (!); the only ones, therefore, whose benevolence rises, from a mere good feeling, to the height and dignity of a virtue." In such economists we obviously recognise those "thinkers" of whom the writer says before: "Their life is spent in a laborious research into remote and hidden causes; in a patient and painful analysis of the operation of principles, from the misapplication or forgetfulness of which our social disorders have sprung; in sowing seeds and elucidating laws that are to destroy the evil at a distant date, which they themselves may never see,—while sometimes its pressure may be aggravated during the period which they do see. They are neither rewarded by the gratitude of those for whom they toil—since the benefits they confer are often blessings in disguise and *in futurum*—nor gratified by beholding the fruit of their benevolent exertions—for the harvest may not be ripe till all of them have passed away, and till most of them have been forgotten. Nay, more, they are misrepresented, misconstrued, accused of hardness of heart by a misconceiving generation, and too often cursed and thwarted by the very men in whose service they have spent their strength. . . . These men—the martyrs of philanthropy—must find their consolation and support in unswerving adherence to true principles and unshrinking faith in final victory, and must seek their recompence, if they need one, in the tardy recognition of their virtues by a distant and a wiser time." And, therefore, without disparagement of the "feelers," the kindly,

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self-indulgent philanthropists, "*we* cast in our lot with their more systematic fellow-labourers, who address themselves to the harder, rougher, more unthankful task of attacking the source rather than the symptoms—of eradicating social evils, rather than alleviating them."

Now, if we remember that the drift of the whole article is to pit Political Economy, as the writer views it, against Socialism, the apparent designation of Socialists as mere "feelers" strikes one at first sight as most singularly misplaced. A spirit of system, a dogmatic cast of thought, is precisely that which has hitherto chiefly distinguished them. Nay, when the writer talked of those "who endeavoured to permit the recurrence and perpetuation of existing misery by an investigation and eradication of its causes," my thought instantly reverted to all those Socialist leaders who, however they may differ among themselves, have this every one of them in common, that each possesses some radical means of curing social ills. Fourier, Owen, St. Simon, Cabet, are all at one on this point. Each has his own specific for the world's malady. Each looks down upon mere tinkering of individual or partial distresses. Each spends a life upon his object. Each has to complain of unrewarded toil, of an ungrateful country. Each becomes in his turn the bye-word of the day,—each is, to use the words of the reviewer, in all their accumulated force (or it may be weakness) of tautology, "misrepresented, misconstrued by a misconceiving generation." Each is, in his own opinion at least, a "martyr of philanthropy."[2]

It is true that the reviewer's criticism addresses itself chiefly, not to heretical "thinkers," (as most or all of the Socialist leaders must, I am afraid, be considered,) but to

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those impulsive philanthropists," who "devote themselves to the relief or the mitigation of existing misery;" who, "in imitation, *as they imagine*, of their Master, go from house to house assuaging wretchedness—relieving present evils—attended and rewarded by blessings, but doomed, probably, to feel that they have ill-deserved them." Now, if there is to be this painful distinction between "thinkers" and "feelers"—if the unity of man's threefold nature is to be broken up, and the instincts of the spirit are to be gratified at the expense of the consistency of the intellect, or the processes of the intellect followed out at the expense of the spiritual sympathies, I for one am not prepared to cast in my lot with those "martyrs of philanthropy," the thinkers, even though my benevolence should not (so the reviewer tells us) rise otherwise to the "height and dignity of a virtue." Philanthropy, or the love of men, *must* have its ground in feeling, and not in thought—*must* spring out of the heart, and not be builded up by the intellect. It is very easy to think that we ought to love our fellow-men—to think how we ought to love them—to think that we do love them; but very difficult to feel that love and act upon it. By no means let thought be severed from that feeling; but better, oh! better a hundred times the maddest act of self-sacrifice for love—foolishness to the Greeks, as was ever the bearing of the cross—than the grandest ice-palace of system ever upreared by self-wrapped thought!

And is it indeed a "harder, rougher, more unthankful task" to elucidate the laws of political economy, than to "go from house to house assuaging wretchedness?" Those who have devoted themselves the most thoroughly to the latter task are the best able to answer. They

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alone can tell how often, or how seldom, their steps are "attended and rewarded by blessings." Ask the Scripture-reader, toiling day after day in filthy courts and wretched hovels,—ask the Ragged-school teacher, assailed night after night with clamour and misconduct, if not worse,—whether his lot be indeed a soft one, a smooth one, a thankful one! The endeavour to relieve and mitigate existing evils, what has it ever produced in any poor human creature who has attempted it in singleness of heart, but the ever-growing conviction, that the evils which he could not relieve or mitigate out-numbered those that he could, as the sands of the sea-shore out-number those of a paltry minute-glass! Let the "feeler," let the "impulsive philanthropist," go forth from house to house with his pockets full of gold; if he yield to every impulse, is there a day when he could return home otherwise than penniless?

But we should at once observe that our reviewer seems himself to have felt the injustice of so sweeping a condemnation of all personal benevolence, as his words would imply. The "laborious and searching administrators of private charity" are subsequently classed, with the political economists, as "the only philanthropists whose efforts do not issue in a preponderance of evil." Nay, whilst reserving the palm of martyrdom for the thinking philanthropist, our reviewer still keenly sympathises with the feelers,—"excellent women and kind-hearted men, cast somewhat in the same mould." He warns them from trusting to mere "liberal subscriptions to charitable institutions, which are so often misdirected and misconducted," urges them to take individual cases in hand, and thoroughly relieve them. Wise counsel, I readily admit; because anything which tends

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to bring benevolence in close, personal, permanent contact with its objects, tends to make benevolence wiser; because every case of distress thoroughly *relieved* erases one from the list, whilst a hundred such cases *assisted* are but maintained upon it. Still, it would be easy for me to show that any charitable institution, as such, must proceed, not from mere *feelings* of philanthropy, but from the *thought* which those feelings have educed; that it is, as such, an endeavour to reach beyond the mere individual symptom to the cause of the disease. A man goes out amongst the poor, and is able to relieve, thoroughly, one or two individuals in a given locality. It strikes him that, by mapping out a certain space into districts, and assigning competent persons to the charge of each, what he has done on a small scale imperfectly, might be done efficiently on a large one,—and a District Visiting Society is formed. A surgeon has occasion to visit a certain number of cases; it strikes him that if all were gathered together, their maladies might be dealt with far more speedily and effectually,—and a Dispensary or Hospital is founded. Now this is *thought*, not mere *feeling;* and the carrying on of such institutions requires, in its ever-increasing routine, still more and more of the former element. Every such undertaking, therefore, one would think, might claim some indulgence at the hands of the eulogist of thinking philanthropists. But no. If it is thought, it is heretical thought. "Those whose feelings are too vivid, whose judgment is too impatient, or whose reasoning faculties are too untrained, *to allow them to study philanthropy as a science*, have no business with charity on a great scale, and cannot safely intermeddle with *institutions* which are engines of immense good or immense evil, according as they

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harmonize with or violate the principles of economical philosophy."

So naïve a profession of economical infallibility was surely never put forth. Fancy all the "feelers" of England strictly confined to the exercise of private charity, forbidden to intermeddle with charitable institutions, even to the extent of subscription, and those institutions reserved exclusively, not only as to management, but also (as a necessary consequence of the former prohibition) as to pecuniary dependence, for the professors of "economical philosophy!" Political economy, as it has hitherto been professed, established in the monopoly of our charitable institutions! Heaven preserve us from such a doom!

Perhaps my hearers may be wondering, by this time, how far we have strayed from Socialism. Nay, not so far, either. Every charitable institution—the unconscious bent of the reviewer's thoughts proves that he feels it so,—is a form of Socialism, since it tends to bring man and man closer together, to organize their mutual relations by love. And therefore it is that I am quite ready to admit the correctness of the transition, which may seem to many a sudden one,—from the Governesses' Institution or the Society for Distressed Needlewomen, to *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*, and to our friend Parson Lot. It proves to us,—it may prove to others,—that we are fighting the battle, not of some narrow coterie or school, not of some new-fangled heresy, but of all Christian benevolence, of all efforts at mutual help and fellowship, which have ever been made since the world began, against all that tends to keep men asunder and divided. The reviewer is right after all —we Socialists are *feelers*,—and we glory in our shame!

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I am not going to defend *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*, nor yet *Alton Locke*. Let them plead their own cause; they have done so already. If *Alton Locke* be one-sided, it is because it ought to be so; because the writer had to turn uppermost that one side of the truth,—the truth such as it is seen by a Chartist tailor and poet,—which fine gentlemen and ladies refuse to look at, unless the exhibitor happen to be more or less one of their own order. If *Cheap Clothes and Nasty* be filled with the grievances of journeymen tailors, it is because the coat-and-trousers-wearing public had allowed those grievances to grow up unheeded, because they exist. As for the half-slur upon Mr. Mayhew's accuracy which the reviewer puts forth, when he would only allow Mr. Kingsley to publish the *account* of those grievances "*provided he took due pains in the first instance to assure himself of the unexaggerated correctness of the facts*"— the words being carefully italicised,—it is one which the author of the *London Letters on Labour and the Poor* may well afford to overlook, seeing the overwhelming testimony to the faithfulness of his accounts of the condition of the journeymen tailors borne by meeting after meeting, supplied by every variety of individual experience. And as to the author of *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*, all I can say is,—I heartily trust that our reviewer has, ere this, taken as much pains to ascertain the reality of London wretchedness as the son of the Rector of Chelsea.

The hymn to political economy, as being merely "benevolence under the guidance of science," which now follows, I will pass over, seeing it is but another outburst of that spirit of economic popery which met

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us before. But the assumption that all who attack and deride some of those conclusions of the present school of political economy which appear to them monstrous and self-repugnant, and Mr. Kingsley in particular, must have failed to study that science, or are incapable of the effort of so doing, is surely, to say the least, a gratuitous one. I trust many who are present in this room are aware that, in the earliest pages of the *Christian Socialist*, Parson Lot disclaimed joining "in the vulgar outcry against political economy in general, as absurd and inhuman;" distinctly stated his belief that "to be a sound and scientific Socialist, a man must be first a sound and scientific political economist."[3] This is the man, —writing in such words for a penny paper, cutting against the grain all the prejudices of his readers,—whom the reviewer charges with "loathing and despising" the science of political economy "too much to have studied it"—shrinking "from the intellectual effort which a thorough investigation will require!"

Let us pause, however, for one moment over this charge of contempt of political economy, which is brought so commonly against us Socialists. Let us think for a moment, whether the fault lies with us, or with the so-called economists themselves. Are they not perpetually swaying between the real import and object of their science, and the field to which it has become practically confined? For Adam Smith, political economy had reference solely to the production of wealth;[4] for John Mill, and all the later school, it embraces the distribution of wealth, as well as its production. Wealth, be it observed, in its narrow modern sense of *riches*, not in its wider one of *weal* or *welfare*—that sense in which we pray in the Liturgy of the Church of England, that

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God may grant to our monarch "in health and *wealth* long to live,"—that sense in which our great writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth, and even of the eighteenth centuries, were accustomed to speak of the "*common-wealth*," where we should use the Latin word "*society*," —that sense in which it helped to give a name to the government of England in the days of the old Iron-sides. Common-wealth did not mean then, as it would now, if the words were coupled together for the first time, common stock of riches, but common welfare, common good. If such were, indeed, the sense in which political economists used the word wealth, we might perhaps admit their lofty pretensions. But it is hardly worth while even to quote authorities against such a supposition. The first two pages of Mr. Mill's *Political Economy* are enough to show that wealth is understood by him[5] in the sense which the money-getting spirit of the present day, as of the latter half of the last century, has put upon it, which probably it would be vain hence-forth to interfere with. But observe the new difficulty which arises. The science which busies itself with the production and distribution of wealth calls itself political economy. Economy—literally, House-law—Political Economy, the law of a state's household. Now, here again Mammon perverts the meaning of the word "economy," as he has already perverted the meaning of the word "wealth." How gross and vile that perver-sion has already become in common practice, we must acknowledge to our shame, when economy in private matters is often but a gentle term for stinginess. Yet, even apart from this *ne plus ultra* of perversion, it becomes utterly false to assert that the laws which regu-late the production and distribution of wealth can ever

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of themselves suffice to make up the code of a nation's household.[6] It is not by such laws that St. Paul requires bishops and deacons to "rule well" their "own house." Other qualities besides those of mere money-prudence, we all know, are required for that purpose. And the yearning after this larger meaning is that, I fancy, which is constantly leading astray men like our reviewer, who speak of political economy as being merely "benevolence under the guidance of science." Yes, truly, if you will take the words "political economy" in the sense in which we are willing to accept them; if you will extend the science to the ruling of the house itself, with the human beings whom we speak of as making up the household,—if you will take into account all those human qualities of justice, and patience, and forbearance, and forgiveness, and ever much more abounding love, without which the thriftiest housewife will succeed in sending her husband to a club or a pot-house, and worrying her children into stubborns or runaways. But such is *not* the sense in which the teachers of political economy speak themselves of their science. Mr. Mill, with the true candour of greatness, warns us in the preface to his work, that, "except in matters of detail, there are perhaps no practical questions, even among those which approach nearest to the character of purely economical questions, which admit of being decided on economical premises alone." Choose, therefore, we say, between the science such as it is, confessing its own limited nature by the mouth of its greatest exponent—by its own showing a mere *plutonomy*, to use the happy expression of a brother-promoter of Eton—and that larger conception which your own kindly heart would fain substitute in its place. But of this we warn you,

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that if you do choose that larger conception,—if you do introduce that principle of "benevolence" which is foreign to the science itself, even though you should put it in leading-strings to the latter, instead of giving it the lead, as I believe it should have,—if once, I say, you introduce the idea of benevolence into the domain of economical science, you are a transfuge, in spite of yourself, from the ranks to which you claim to belong,—you are a *Socialist* with ourselves. For Socialism is precisely that which asserts that there is—which aspires to be—a science of the relations of men, wider than that which regulates the mere production and distribution of wealth, a science of which that plutonomy is only a branch; which asserts, that before production comes the producer, before distribution the distributor, and that which binds producer and distributor together, viz., association, or a common interest; that, without a knowledge of the wants and the failings, the passions and the affections, nay, the vices and the crimes of men, it is idle to speculate beforehand upon the results of their actions as producers or distributors. Whilst Christianity in turn asserts, that without a power which shall supply imperfection, correct wrong, turn passion into healthy channels, even that knowledge will be idle, and the best schemes for applying it will break up in practice. We claim to be political economists as well as you, sciolists though we may be; we claim to study and apply the laws of production and distribution; but we claim also to have a perception of other laws which you neglect, to set forth a principle which is to apply and control them all. And we cannot, and we will not, and we dare not give up a nation's destinies to the guidance of those, whose science has for object wealth and not men,—the

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work and not the worker; and we will contemn, and we will scorn, and we will scoff at the pretensions of those, who assert that England is to be ruled by the same base competitive selfishness which regulates, to his own damnation, the dealings of a Jew slopseller with his wretched slaves.

So long, therefore, as your competitive Plutonomy confines itself to its scientific field, to its dead subject-matter of wealth, we Socialists have to listen to it, and to learn from it. So soon as it attempts that which outlies its province—to govern society, or, in other words, men—to become a social power—we deny and reject it; we affirm it to be a falsehood and an absurdity; since, wherever there is society, or, in other words, partnership, that partnership can never thrive but by the exclusion of all competition within. There should be emulation,—there may be rivalry and jealousy even, —and, so far as these prevail, the partnership is endangered; but competition there cannot be. If each partner acts upon the principle of getting as much and giving as little as he can, drawing large balances and sparing time and trouble, it will be sure to get into the *Gazette*, or, worse, into Chancery. The shares may be equal, or, it may be, unequal; but there must be a rule by which the profits and the losses are divided—a rule which must be observed. Keep, by all means, O Plutonomists, the books of the national partnership; show up wasteful speculations, provide against false entries and omissions. How the partners are to deal with one another is not your affair. He who undertakes to define those relations is a Socialist; and such we claim to be.

Thus it is that a wholly imperfect apprehension often underlies the phrase, in one sense innocent and true,

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that Socialism "tends towards an entire remodelling of the existing arrangements of society." Yes; in so far as those arrangements are anti-social, are contrary to the principles upon which society itself is grounded. Yes; in so far that the partnership cannot be a true one in which, whilst the stock increases, the one partner gets profit, and the other none; in which there are rent-rolls of hundreds of thousand pounds, and paupers by the hundred thousand in workhouses, idle. Yes; in so far as that partnership cannot be a true one, in which one partner is constantly plotting the life and the ruin of the other—in which beggars and street-walkers, thieves and murderers, increase, it would seem, beyond the power of the land to hold them;—but no farther. I repeat it, no farther. And thus, when we are accused by the reviewer of saying that "Political Economy has hitherto had it all its own way" he states that which, as a general assertion, it is utterly impossible for us to make. For we well know that if the political economy of competition, the political economy of buy-cheap and sell-dear, the political economy of unbridled self-interest, the political economy of the strongest, ever had it "all its own way," the whole fabric of society would tumble to pieces at once. We know that whatever there is of order and justice, of security and mutual help in the world, is a protest against *that* political economy, is the result of co-operation and not of competition, of Socialism and not of selfishness. Men have associated together under a common law for mutual protection, for mutual advancement in civil life, and the whole order of government and of law has grown into being. Men have associated together, or have associated their children together,

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under a common law for mutual improvement, and the whole order of education,—schools, colleges, universities—has sprung up. Men have associated together under a common law as the subjects of a higher than all earthly governments, and the Church has been founded. That the strong should not oppress the weak, but be helpful to him, that self-interest should not overweigh the general good, is the one leading principle of all these various orders. Has your competitive plutonomy had "all its own way" with these? God forbid that we should ever have to say so!

We do not say that political economy, the political economy of the present school, has had it "all its own way" hitherto. We do say that it has had it too much already. Nay, we are ready to assert, and quite as strongly as our reviewer, or any of his brother plutonomists, that "the existing wretchedness of England is directly traceable to ignorance, neglect, and systematic violation of the principles of political economy;" but we add, that some of the worst culprits in this respect are precisely those plutonomists. We may agree with him, even in the statement of particular cases; that "industry," for instance, "ought to be unshackled as the wind;" but we deny that it is yet, as he vainly dreams it to have become within five years, "free and unimpeded;" but we point to the ballast-heaver, with his labour practically mortgaged to the publican,—to the slopworker, subject to all the capricious tyranny of the slop-master,—nay, to the slop-master himself, forced by the pressure of competition to choose between his own ruin and that of others, between "living wages" and loss of capital,—in proof that trade is yet enslaved, debarred from the supreme freedom—the freedom of

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being truthful and honest. We may say with the reviewer, with Christianity and common sense, that "if a man will not work, neither should he eat;" but we deny that this maxim can mean, as too often it is construed, "if a man *cannot* work, neither should he eat;" we assert that it implies of itself another maxim, "if a man *will* work, he *shall eat*," and that such a maxim is daily violated by the fact, that there are in England, day after day, so many willing arms unemployed. We may, perhaps, even say with the reviewer, that if a man brings children into the world whom he is unable to support, he acts unjustly and selfishly, as well as imprudently. We do not say, indeed, that the "correction of his fault" should be "left to its natural results," or, in other words, that the innocent should be punished for the guilty — *that the children should be starved or poisoned.* But we do say, that if it be wrong for a man to bring children into the world whom he is unable to support, so that "the prudent, the industrious, and the self-denying should do it for him," it is wrong also for an employer, for the sake of his own profits, to "bring labour into the world which he is unable to support," whether by the introduction of machinery,[7] or by going in search of cheap hands from agricultural parishes, or even from foreign countries, or perhaps by both processes at once, and to let "the prudent, the industrious, the self-denying," pay in the shape of increased taxes or rates for the labour which he has rendered useless or mischievous—for the workers of whom he has made paupers or criminals. And if, indeed, political economy points to the contrast between the half-famished labourer and the squalid artisan on the one hand, and the better-fed pauper and the com-

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fortable inmate of the model-prison on the other, in proof that it has not ruled "this anomalous and enigmatic world," it is the very one to which Socialism is always pointing, in like manner, as an instance of the neglect of its own principles. It is true that Political Economy (so called) and Socialism in general differ as to the means of getting rid of that anomaly, of solving that riddle. Political Economy generally proposes for solution, to starve the pauper and maltreat the prisoner; Socialism usually requires that the labourer and the artisan should be raised above misery and want.

Now, there are two of the passages in the paragraph now referred to which I have designedly passed over; I merely mention them now, lest it should be suspected that I am afraid of meeting them. But let us pause for an instant, to consider how far the partial application of those rules which Political Economy and Socialism both agree in, but which the former—one-eyed, as Southey, and after him Arnold, have happily termed it—seems never to have looked at but sideways—how far such partial application, in conformity with the reviewer's doctrines, is likely to produce such good results as he seems to expect. I am indebted to a friend, not here present,* for the following illustration.

Granted, that Protection is an economical falsehood. Granted, that neither the man who will not, nor yet who cannot, work is worthy of his food. Granted, that the "simple teachings of morality," announcing that "if a man marries without means or prospects, and brings children into the world whom he is unable to support, he acts unjustly and selfishly, as well as impru-

* Mr. E. V. Neale.

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dently, and the correction of his fault should be left to its natural results" (of starvation and child-murder); that "the law should *not* step in between the cause and its consequence, between the folly and its cure;" should *not* make "the prudent, the industrious, the self-denying," support his children for him. Granted, that there being no poor-law and no legal paupers, the contrast between the half-famished labourer and the well-fed pauper should disappear; and that instead of union-workhouses, there should be a most vigilant, well-trained, well-armed, well-mounted police force. I will show you two countries, subject indeed to the same customs' restrictions on industry, and also to the incubus of a religion which shall teach the masses to increase and multiply, but which shall differ upon all the other points; of which the one shall be afflicted with all those evils which the reviewer denounces, whilst his "sound doctrines of political economy" shall have undisputed sway in those respects on the other. Can we doubt which shall be the most flourishing? Can we doubt in which of the two countries "industry, frugality, forethought and perseverance shall not fail of their reward?" Can we doubt in which of the two countries the labourer shall be better fed, clothed, and educated—more independent and manly? If a sudden calamity should strike the two, can we doubt which of them (if, indeed, contrary to the sound doctrines of plutonomy, it should be "addicted to benevolence," to use the quaint expression of a man of science the other day) would be able to help the other out of its well-filled coffers? Let the year 1847 answer for us! Let the half-million human beings, hurried off by the Irish famine from a land uncursed, or nearly so, by poor-laws,

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answer! Let the heavy grants of money from poor-law ridden England answer! God forbid that I should set up as a panegyrist of that poor-law machinery which I believe to be one of the clumsiest ever devised for its purpose! but bitter experience has indeed taught us, that the most clumsy poor-law may be better than none at all. I assert, therefore, in opposition to the reviewer, not indeed that political economy—*his* political economy of competition, and *laissez-faire*, and leaving the bringing of pauper children into the world to its "natural results"—has had it hitherto all its own way, but that, in so far as it has had its own way, it has helped to disgrace the middle of the nineteenth century, the civilized and Christian British empire, with the exhibition of such appalling horrors, as have made the whole world stand aghast.[8]

But to proceed. "In the second place," says our reviewer, "one of the chief notions which lie at the root of this vast scheme for associated labour, is precisely the same which dictated the *guilds* in the middle-ages—the desire to proportion the supply of labour to the demand by previous arrangements. It is a step back into the past," quoth he; and, selecting Mr. Thornton Hunt this time for his opponent, he asks: "How can this vital point be ascertained beforehand? How can it be ascertained at all, except by free competition, which will soon bring us the needed knowledge, by showing us which branches of industry are most, and which least remunerative, i. e., *which branches of industry have the fewest, and which the most, labourers, in proportion to the demand for their produce.* If any kind of labour does not pay, this is a sign that it is not wanted, and will be abandoned; if any one pays ill, this is a proof that

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there are too many labourers employed in it. . . . . Mr. Hunt would ascertain all this, not by experience, but, *à priori*, by 'concert.' Has he ever troubled himself to consider by what machinery this preliminary concert can be managed? . . . . Concert, as an opponent to, or a substitute for, competition, in solving the problem of the wisest distribution of labour, is either a chimera or a tyranny."

Now we plead guilty, together with Mr. Thornton Hunt, to the belief that "concert," and not competition, is to apportion the supply to the demand. We plead guilty to following the same "notion" which "dictated" (to use the reviewer's somewhat singular word) the guilds in the middle ages, and which "dictates" at the present day whatever of order, and regularity, and discipline, and well-being, subsists yet amongst us. We might say, indeed, that to call "concert," under any circumstances whatever, a "tyranny," is a contradiction in terms, since there can be no tyranny but where there is want of concert; that to call it a chimera is equally inappropriate, since the characteristic of a chimera is precisely that it is discordant in itself—inconsistent with reality. But I would ask whether, in the widest sense of the term, "concert," so far as it can be practised, and not competition, in the apportioning the supply of labour to the demand, is not precisely that which distinguishes those branches of labour which constitute the most *social* elements of society—the government and the public services? How wonderfully, for instance, would the discipline of the army and navy be improved by ceasing to apportion the number of soldiers or sailors, and officers of all ranks, to the demand for their services? by throwing each career open to free and

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unrestricted competition? by buying men in the cheapest market, and allowing them to undersell one another to any extent? by making the most of the yearly grants of money, or of the yearly votes for men, and, instead, for instance, of appropriating for the year 1851 £1,322,939 for wages, at certain fixed rates, to 39,000 seamen and marines, legalizing that crimping system which is so well acknowledged to be an evil, and contracting, either at the highest tender, for as many men as could be got for the money—or, at the lowest, for as little money as men could be got to serve for? Do you suppose that, from the boy to the admiral, twice the number of hands could not be got for the money, or an equal number at half-price? And what is true of one branch of the public service is true, more or less, of all. In all, there is an effort made not to leave free competition to solve the "problem of the wisest distribution of labour," but to determine, "by previous arrangement," how many labourers are wanted, and, in most cases, what shall be the remuneration for their services. Nay, there is also to be observed a growing tendency to extend the sphere of "concert," to encroach upon the domain of "competition," by limiting, through educational means, the choice of competitors for admission. What is the effect of all military colleges, East India colleges, training-schools, &c., but to carry a step further those "previous arrangements" by which society is perpetually endeavouring, for all its most responsible functions, to "proportion the supply of labour to the demand"?

But go deeper into the subject. I affirm that free competition never can, under any circumstances, proportion the supply of labour to the demand; that this is never effected but by "concert" in any office, employ-

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ment, trade, or business whatsoever. The utmost competition can do is, as it were, to throw together the work and the workers, for "concert" to apportion the two. A public office, for instance, may be hemmed round with a raging sea of competitors, eager for admission into its ranks. But, from the moment they are admitted, competition must cease, the supply of labour must be proportioned beforehand to the demand, or all will go to loggerheads. No Secretary of State could ever carry on the public business, unless he knew beforehand that he has an adequate staff of clerks to do it; and if that staff should be disproportioned, in the way of excess, to the daily demand for their services, who so eager to reduce them to the strictest number as the "economists" of the day? And what is true of a public office, is true of every factory, shop, and farm throughout the kingdom.[9] The internal working of all depends throughout upon concert—upon the adjustment of the demand for labour and its supply, often in the minutest and nicest manner. Within the walls of each, competition is seen at once in its true light, as mere discord and disorder. If two carters on a farm "compete" for the use of a cart, two spinners in a factory for the care of a spinning-jenny, they are likely to be both turned out of doors, since, whilst their competition lasts, the whole work suffers. If we could learn to look upon a whole trade as we do upon a single establishment, we should find that free competition, as it is termed, mars everywhere, instead of making, the wisest distribution of labour; and I do not fear to assert, in the most positive manner, that in every organized society of which we can see an example from the beginning of the world until now, concert, and not competition, has regulated

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that distribution, so far as it has been wise and healthy; that precisely in so far as it does not regulate it, that distribution is tyrannical and contradictory, and the whole state of things in which this is allowed to take place, disorganized and anti-social.

And, therefore, when our reviewer inveighs against this concert, "delegating to a few men sitting in committee the decision as to the number of workmen required in each department, and the right of warning all others off the ground, while it expects from these men a wisdom and omniscience which neither individuals nor corporations could by any possibility possess," I can see nothing in his words, taken in their plain meaning, but the sheer dissolution of all society. For any one of them, if it applies to our Central Board or Council of Promoters, applies equally to her Majesty and both Houses of Parliament; since here, also, "a few men sitting in committee" have delegated to them "the decision as to the number of workmen required in each department" of the public service, even from her Most Gracious Majesty, the sole workwoman required or allowed in that great and solemn labour of reigning over God's people of England, to the very doorkeepers of either House; since here, also, these few men have the right "of warning all others off the ground," and by very rough methods too, such as chopping off of heads in case any one should attempt to solve by competition, instead of concert, the problem of the "wisest distribution" of the aforesaid labour of reigning.

I can fancy, however, some half-Socialists going along with a portion of our reviewer's arguments, before coming over to our own, and looking upon "free competition" as the only means and preliminary of concert.

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These will be inclined to think those observations of his unanswerable, which say, "How can the proportion between supply and demand be ascertained at all, except by competition, showing us which branches of industry are most, and which least remunerative?" which assert that "if any kind of labour does not pay, this is a sign that it is not wanted." To me it seems that the whole reasoning is fallacious. It is of the very essence of competition amongst employers to conceal which branches of labour are least, and which most remunerative, to falsify returns, to exaggerate the labourer's wages, and conceal the trader's profits. Who will be most willing or most likely to tell the truth as to the rate of wages at which he employs his workpeople, the "honourable" tailor, who struggles on to live on his connexion, on a reputation for good work,—in other words, upon a "concert" of some kind between himself and his customers—or the slopseller, with his starvation wages? Surely the letters in the *Morning Chronicle* are sufficient evidence on this point. They have shown us information on such subjects absolutely refused by one large outfitter. They have shown us fraud in the making up of the slopsellers' books,—payments for work made to one man, whilst the work itself is apportioned to several;—fraud in the sweater, enticing inexperienced journeymen into his den under golden promises of wages, which they could never by any possibility realize;—fraud in those bills stuck up to say that hands are wanted, when the sole object of the employer is to know for how little he can get his work done,—fraud at every step, fraud in every process. Has it not come to this,—that if "free competition" does indeed show us sometimes which branches of industry are least remunerative, it is not by

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its truth, but by its lies; by the habit which many of us are getting into of seeing in every "frightful sacrifice," but an attempted robbery of the consumer, and in all the flashiest outward tokens of wealth in a trader, the sure symptoms of hastening insolvency?

I might pursue this subject much further; but a few hints will be enough. For the same motives to concealment and fraud which competition suggests to the employer, tell equally upon the employed. They too are tempted, when their wages are high, to conceal the amount; and of this the *Morning Chronicle* letters have given several instances;—when they are low, to exaggerate the lowness of them,—and of this almost every person familiar with the poor must be aware. It is only the workman at a regular fixed salary who will be willing at all times to state his earnings;—the remuneration of those branches of industry is easiest known where least competition exists. And when, on the other hand, statistical data are obtained to show which branches are most, and which least remunerative, be sure, either that concert brought forth the information, or that competition, to bring it forth, must have assumed the shape of concert. Sometimes it is a government census, sometimes a private society, sometimes an organized body of the trade itself; if a competitive journalist should take up the task, it is only by agreement with masters or men that he will be able to carry it out.

But again, says the reviewer, "if any kind of labour does not pay, this is a sign that it is not wanted, and *will be abandoned.*" Is it so, indeed? Why, then, are there, by your own showing, 8000 more tailors in London than are wanted? Can any man in his senses say deliberately that, in our social state, a labour will be

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abandoned, because it does not pay? Does needlework pay the needlewoman,—and yet is needlework abandoned? Does slop-tailoring pay the slop-worker,—and yet, when was slop-work not rife? Towards the beginning of this year, as low as 2½d. was paid, I am informed by unexceptionable authority, for the making of government trousers. Did this pay? And yet the work was done! If your man or woman were a mere machine, of course it would stop working, from the moment it did not receive its due supply of force. But the man and the woman are not machines, as you always imagine, O economists! benevolent men under the guidance of science, as you now call yourselves! Charity, the poor-laws, dishonesty, vice, these are so many means by which men and women, day after day, year after year, ay, generation after generation, go on with a labour which does not pay. And do you dare reproach them for not abandoning it? Is it not the tendency of your whole competitive system to prevent their being able to abandon it? Is it not the effect, not indeed of the division of labour in itself, but of your chaining down human creatures, with their manifold God-given faculties, each one individually to some single function, that they should be unable to abandon the labour that does not pay? You make a man, through competition, as you say, a perfect pointer of pins. The day comes when, through competition, pin-pointing does not pay. Abandon your pin-pointing, you now coolly say; competition shows that you must do so. Abandon my pin-pointing! the man answers; why, I can do nothing else,—you have taught me to do nothing else; you have forbidden me to do anything else. A pin-pointer I am, and a pin-pointer I must remain; and since I have no money, and cannot put

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my children out to school or to apprenticeship, will you not allow me to eke out my wages by bringing in these little ones to the work?

I do not know whether my supposititious case has really any application to pin-pointing, but it has certainly to many, very many other employments. If any kind of labour does not pay, instead of this being a sign that it "will be abandoned," this anomaly is on the contrary almost invariably produced, that more labourers flock into it. A man gets help from his wife and children in his trade, not when it pays best, but when it pays least; children are most surely brought up in general to their father's trade, when he has least means by his underpay, least opportunities by his overwork, to put them to another. All these are facts; lamentable, contradictory, absurd facts, if you will,—but facts nevertheless; facts which the economist (for all the "strict conscience" and "humble mind" which guide his charity) overlooks, because they do not fit his theory; facts which are brought home daily more and more to thousands of suffering men; facts which demonstrate, if nothing else did, that competition, in attempting to solve "the problem of the wisest distribution of labour," offers but the very maddest of all solutions.

But now the reviewer proceeds to examine "the principle and the organization of those associations of workmen which have been recently established to carry out the communistic [socialistic] idea," and selects the Working Tailors' Association as his touchstone. He finds in it, to his surprise, "nothing new;" "nothing to which the purest political economist could object, with the single exception that the association is trading on borrowed capital." Finding that Mr. Cooper, as manager,

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represents the master as superintendent, and the workmen represent the master as capitalist; he asks, "In what way does this arrangement differ from the ordinary relations of capital and labour?"

As to the objection, that the association is constituted on borrowed capital, we can only say, we feel quite certain that every promoter and associate must regret that working men *have not* always the capital to start an association. But if they have not, we should like to know why such capital is not to be lent to them, in the same manner as it is lent, every hour of the day, to employers starting in business on their own account? Is our reviewer really so strait-laced as to say, that it violates the principles of political economy for any one to do business on borrowed capital, or on credit, which amounts to the same thing? If he says so, will he be prepared to suggest any means for enforcing so strict a rule? At least negative means, for instance, as the suppression of all those institutions and callings which subsist for the sole purpose of lending money—banks, loan societies, pawn shops, legalized or unlegalized usury of all sorts? If not, why is the workman to be debarred from this capitalist's privilege? Why are the promoters to be charged with "artificially directing capital into a business already overstocked," because they choose to lend money to workmen, instead of lending it to masters; because they choose to make the loan bear 4*l.* per cent. interest, instead of screwing out for it seven or eight? "Artificial!" Is it come to this pitch of blasphemy, that any attempt to benefit the many rather than the few, any service rendered on terms not the most onerous that could be extorted, is to be treated as "artificial"?

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Our friend, however, discovers that there is "nothing new" in what we have done. So much the better, say we; if the old is good, why change it? But he asks, in what the "arrangement of our associations differs from the ordinary relations of capital and labour," seeing that the manager receives the master's profit of superintendence, and the workmen the master's profit of capital? What! is there really no difference between the ordinary relations of capital and labour, where the capitalist takes all the profit, and the labourer none, and the relations between the fellow-labourers of an association, where one of them receives certain increased wages as superintendent, and the rest of the profit is shared by all? Yet, again: "Were not many great capitalists labourers to begin with?" Of course they were; and we trust that our associations will become great capitalists in their turn. "Are not many great capitalists labourers still?" The more the better, say we. "And do not two or more of these labouring capitalists often unite in partnership?" Exactly so; and why not hundreds and thousands, instead of two or more?

Willingly do we grant him, that "only under a master or manager endowed with adequate authority, can an association composed of many members hold together." Ay, but do you not see that the whole question is, *how* shall that manager be appointed?—how shall that authority be exercised? Shall it be freedom or despotism? Shall it be law and order, or competition and discord? Shall it be the authority of a Russian czar, or of a constitutional minister?

Now, however, comes the climax. "How is it," our reviewer asks, "that the sweating system, with all its alleged cruelties and oppressions, is possible? Why are

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the slopsellers able to get the operatives so completely in their power, to fix their wages, and to dictate terms? Why is it, that the journeymen tailors are so powerless that they must accept any wages that are offered to them? *Clearly because they are more numerous than the demand requires.*" And he closes his paragraph by asking triumphantly, whether "these associations have the slightest tendency, either to augment the demand for clothes, or to diminish the numbers of the clothing artisans? If not, how can they effect any purpose except that of ameliorating the condition of the few who become members of them?"

A friend of ours has already shown, in the pages of the *Christian Socialist*, — reasoning upon a position laid down by the great living master of political economy himself, Mr. John Stuart Mill,—that the actual demand for clothes in the metropolis would be sufficient, if those middlemen and masters, who constitute economically but useless wheels in the machinery of production, were suppressed, to maintain the whole twenty-three thousand tailors of London.[10] It has been further shown in the same journal, that there is what may be called a potential demand for clothes in the tailoring trade alone, which association, by "ameliorating the condition" of its members, would call forth, since a large portion of the tailors of London are themselves, owing to starvation wages, ill-clad."[11] But I think we must here grapple with the question of Supply and Demand in its essence, and show how impossible it is, without trenching upon another province than that of the mere scientific economist, to understand the laws of his science in their practical exhibition.

Wages, Mr. Mill tells us, "depend upon the demand

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and supply of labour; or, as it is often expressed, on the proportion between population and capital." And he explains the proposition further, by saying, that "by population is here meant the number only of the labouring class, or rather "of those who work for hire; and by capital, only circulating capital, and not even the whole of that, but the part which is expended in the direct purchase of labour."* Put into more homely English, this simply means that "the more money is offered for labour, and the fewer labourers there are to ask for it, the greater will be the share of each," which is, of course, self-evident. Now, look at the question for a moment in the concrete, and not in the abstract. What right have you to assume that the money offered for any given labour, or all the money offered for labour at any given time, is all that could be offered? Take our own experience as customers, that is to say, as the real, though not the direct, employers of labour. Do we always pay as much as we could pay for every article? Are we not conscious, on the contrary, that we do, almost invariably, pay less than we might? Are we not accustomed, many of us, to bargain and cheapen down the prices at least of some of the things that are offered to us for sale? In other words, are we not men and women, with all the weaknesses and pettinesses of humanity, in ourselves and in others, to give way to or to contend against, and not patent self-acting pieces of machinery?

Now, I am not here making a complaint. I do not say that we ought always to pay the price that is asked of us. But I do say, that there is a human element in

* *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 417.

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the determination of the demand of capital for labour, which economists in their systems are perpetually overlooking; which may stretch that demand through liberality, prodigality if you will; which may contract it through parsimony and beating down.[12] I will not believe that the West-end customers of the great show-shops pay as much as they could for their garments; and the less they pay, the less the working tailors of London must, sooner or later, receive for their labour. The shifting back of a single nobleman's custom from a slopseller paying twelve shillings a-week to an honourable tailor paying one pound at least in wages, is a clear increase of eight shillings for every tailor employed on the clothing of his household, in the weekly demand for clothing artisans' labour.

I might easily have taken the employer himself as an example. Every one knows that, in almost every trade, the nominal rate of wages varies slightly from house to house; the real rate, as determined by the amount of labour required, the enforcing or not enforcing of fines, abatements, &c., varies to an infinite degree. But as we are here, most of us, consumers and not employers, I must admit with shame, that, between the necessities of the workman and our exactions, the humane employer is often crushed against his will into a heartless taskmaster, and I have therefore insisted rather on the responsibilities of the consumer. Enough, I trust, has been said, to show that the demand of capital for labour is no arbitrary, fatal quantity, that it is subject to human wills, varies with human affections, is responsible to human duties.

Now it is very curious that this operation of the human will, this function of the human conscience, in

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increasing the money-demand for labour, is invariably (I think I may say) overlooked by political economists; whilst, since the days of Mr. Malthus, the operation of the human will, the function of the human conscience, in lessening the supply of labour, is, under one shape at least, incessantly insisted on by them. I say, under one shape at least; for there is a mode of limiting the supply of labour, practised very largely by the working classes, which until Mr. Mill, economists have habitually condemned, which has been attacked as mischievous in number after number of the *Edinburgh Review*—Trades Unions. Mr. Mill, indeed, has had the manliness to say,* "I find it impossible to wish, in the present state of the general habits of the people, that no such combinations existed. . . . I should rejoice if by trade regulations, or even by trades unions, the employments thus specially protected could be multiplied to a much greater extent than experience has shown to be practicable." But there is another mode of lessening the supply of labour, which, as I said, is perpetually inculcated on the working classes by the same authorities. "Political economy," (I now quote the reviewer's words a few pages back,) "said to the labourer, If population increases faster than the field of employment enlarges, or the demand for labour augments, your position will inevitably deteriorate," and has followed up the advice since the days of Malthus, by strenuously recommending to the labourers not to marry till they were sure of a subsistence for their children, lest the "relation between population and capital," which determines wages, should be altered to their prejudice by an increased supply of willing arms.

* *Political Economy*, i. 489–90.

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Now it would surely be easy for me, on this single point, to claim Mr. Malthus and his followers, but especially himself, as the most utopian of Socialists. It is well known that Mr. Malthus, although he never expressed any confident opinion as to the future earthly happiness of mankind, yet rested his sole hopes of that happiness on the far-famed "prudential check" to population. He did not (to his credit be it said) attempt any grand scheme for carrying out his doctrines; he set on foot no "Late-marriage-and-no-children-encouragement Society;" he expected, or at least counselled the working-classes, by an individual restraint, which would amount in the total to something like that tacit combination of masters for keeping down wages, spoken of by Adam Smith,[13] to keep population, as far as need be, down to monopoly level. "It can scarcely escape the notice of the common mechanic," he says, "that the scarcer workmen are upon any occasion, the greater share do they retain of the value of what they produce for their masters; and it is a most natural inference, that prudence in marriage, which is the only moral means of preventing an excess of workmen above the demand, can be the only mode of giving to the poor, permanently, a large share of all that is produced in the country."*

"We must explain to the poor," he says again,† "the true nature of their situation, and show them that *the withholding the supplies of labour is the only possible way of really raising its price*, and that they themselves, being the possessors of this commodity, have alone the power to do this." He adverts elsewhere‡ to the

* Malthus *on Population*, sixth edition, vol. ii. p. 113.
† *Ibid.*, ii. 291. ‡ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 428.

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increase in "the sum of social happiness" which might be expected "if the lower classes of society had acquired the habit of *proportioning the supplies of labour to a stationary, or even decreasing demand*, without an increase of misery and mortality, as at present." ("Proportioning the supply of labour to the demand!" Mr. Malthus an accomplice with Mr. Thornton Hunt!)

Now this expedient, whatever may be said in the first instance of its feasibility,[14] is surely a strange doctrine now-a-days, and must have been so even in the days of Mr. Malthus himself. What! competition is the great law of human society (as is dinned into our ears day after day), and the "Master of Population," as another Edinburgh reviewer once oddly termed him, tells the working-classes, and indeed the world at large, that their only hope of salvation lies in thinning the labour-market, in "withholding the supplies of labour;" in other words, in not competing with one another! Observe, that it is not in many trades that a man's children can ever compete with him for subsistence; so that the "supplies of labour" must be "withheld," if the check is to be generally enforced, for the sake of rival or even distant fellow-labourers, perhaps of the second or third generation, and in many cases against a seeming present advantage to the parent. In very many trades the demand for infant-labour is such, that it is next to impossible to make him exchange the present tangible good of having a large family of wages-earning children for the distant contingency—in case all his neighbours should be as forbearing as himself, in case no labourers should be introduced from another parish, from another county, from another country even —not to speak of the application of machinery—for

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the distant contingency, I say, of seeing fewer labourers in the market, and being thereby enabled to appropriate a larger sum in wages. Go and talk of the "prudential check" to those artisans of Birmingham whom the *Morning Chronicle* shows us actually mortgaging the labour of their offspring! Go and talk of it to the shoemakers of Northampton, whose children at four years old begin to earn a shilling a week at closing! O benevolent men under the guidance of science, when you do stumble unconsciously into Socialism—into the attempt to create at least a tacit "concert" amongst the labouring classes—to adjust beforehand the supply of labour and its demand, what visionaries you are! what chimeras you do produce! If you had applied to the increasing, by moral means, of the demand for labour, one-half of the energy which you have expended in vainly urging the contraction, by moral means, of its supply, how different might be the condition of the English labouring classes at this moment! Unaware of your own inconsistencies, you blow hot and cold by turns—you proclaim the blessings of competition, and you are angry with the working-people for bringing more competitors into the world;[15] you extol cheapness above all things, and you advise them to make labour dear; you talk of leaving improvident marriages to their "natural results;" and you encourage the produce of that infant-labour, whose value tempts to improvident marriage. But I forget; you observe time and place in your counsels. The law of population is quoted against the pauper; the blessings of competition are invoked in defence of the slopseller. Priests of Mammon! ye do indeed your Master's work!

I trust that the foregoing expressions will not be

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applied to the really benevolent and clear-sighted among the economists, such as Mr. Malthus and Mr. J. S. Mill. They knew well what they meant when they urged moral restraint upon the labourer. "To wish," says Mr. Malthus,* "to better the condition of the poor, by enabling them to command a greater quantity of the necessaries and comforts of life, and then to complain of high wages, is the act of a silly boy, who gives away his cake and then cries for it." He had said just before, that the benevolence of the rich to the poor "must be either childish play or hypocrisy," if they could not submit to the under-stocking of the labour-market. Mr. Mill in like manner asks, in his point-blank way:† "Is it true, or not, that if their numbers (*i. e.*, of the agricultural labourers) were fewer, they would obtain higher wages?" The idle cry for competitive cheapness has thus never proceeded from these masters of the science. Mr. Malthus, in a foot-note,‡ distinctly approves of the interference of the legislature with infant labour in factories; distinctly lays down elsewhere,§ that 'the desirable thing, with a view to the happiness of the common people, seems to be, that *their habitual food should be dear, and their wages regulated by it.*" He could not conceive "anything much more detestable than the idea of knowingly condemning the labourers of this country to the rags and wretched cabins of Ireland, for the purpose of selling a few more broadcloths and calicoes." It is thus evident that the slop-system defended by our reviewer would have been condemned—has been in principle condemned already—

* Malthus *on Population*, ii. 292.
† *Political Economy*, i. 437.
‡ *Essay on Population*, ii. 221. § *Ibid.*, 390.

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by Mr. Malthus, quite as heartily as by Mr. Kingsley himself. And indeed I am happy and proud to acknowledge, that all our great economists, Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Mill, have been and are men full of the deepest and most genuine interest in the condition of our toiling and suffering masses; that where they have erred, it has been from the intellect, and not from the heart; and that nothing can be more striking—I might almost say, often more revolting—than the contrast between the sentiments of these men themselves, and those of the many who only borrow from them a few axioms and phrases, for the sake of systematizing their own selfishness.

Into the deep question of population itself, and of its increase, which I might have wished to have probed with you to the bottom, time and place absolutely forbid me to enter. Suffice it to say that, even assuming Mr. Malthus' doctrines on this subject to be strictly correct, I believe the development of association can but tend to the extreme benefit of the people.[16] But there is another side of the subject of the distribution of labour, and its relations to capital, which needs to be examined. I have shown that political economy, if it had been consistent with its own teachings on the question of population, should have enforced a moral law for the increase of the demand for labour, as it attempted to enforce a moral law for restricting its supply. That association, by appealing to the sense of human justice on behalf of the working man, does really enforce that moral law for the increase of the demand of capital for labour, requires surely no further proof. But let us see whether, such a moral law being supplied, the problem of "the wisest distribution of labour" would yet have been

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solved without association. I believe that it would not; and I ground my belief on the law enunciated by Ricardo*—acknowledged, though with some difference of terms, by Mill—that the rate of profits depends upon wages, and can never be increased but as these, or as the cost of labour, falls. This law, indeed, like the law of wages which I before referred to, sounds very like a truism when couched in familiar language, since it is evident that, the price remaining the same, a trader must have a larger profit in proportion as he pays less for his labour. Now, without falling into any Owenite worship of circumstances, the lesson of such a law surely is, that the interests of the capitalist and the labourer being essentially opposite, there can be nothing better between them than, as it were, an armed truce, so long as they remain distinct classes in society, seeking each its own interest; that the one or the other, in proportion as he is stronger, is able to take a larger share in the returns;[17] that the only radical cure to their enmity, the only fair settlement of their claims, must lie in co-operation, association, in making all receivers of wages, or all receivers of profits; all labourers, or all capitalists together,—or, rather, both at once. And of course the same principle applies to that other great social discord between *producer* and *consumer*, which our reviewer, a little further on, brings forward triumphantly in defence of slopselling, cheapness, and competition,—when it is obvious that it is but another problem to be solved by association of the rival interests, and one which our Co-operative Stores, both here and throughout the country, have in many instances solved already with success.

* See chapter on "Profits." *Works*, by Macculloch, 60; also p. 74, *et passim*.

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I need not, I think, stop over our reviewer's chucklings of delight, when he finds "the denounced principle of competition," as he says, "peeping out everywhere" in our associations, and its spirit, "bitter and unrelenting," pervading Parson Lot's denunciations of the sweaters and show-shops. Of course, as honest men fight to conquer peace, so must working men, yet for many a long and weary year, compete for the sake of association. God grant only that they may not compete with each other, as the reviewer seems to expect! For, says he, "if all the tailors in London were embodied to-morrow into a number of different associations, it is certain that these associations would compete with one another, exactly as individuals would do, because there would be too many associations" (to the supposed extent of 8000 men) "for the work required." I have already endeavoured to show that this is of itself a purely gratuitous assumption. But to proceed. If all these associations be blended together, association will be replaced by monopoly,—and, "to sum up the whole, the advocates of association as a cure for competition are caught between two horns of a dilemma, which half Mr. Kingsley's sagacity, if united with a less vivid fancy and a less copious vocabulary, would, from the first, have enabled him to foresee; in case you have many associations, you retain all the evils of competition; in case you merge them all into one, you encounter all the evils of monopoly. We defy the Socialists to escape from this dilemma, except by assuming a remodelling of human nature by Divine or Christian influences."

Of course we concede, in part at least, the first point, —the former horn of the dreadful dilemma. In case we have many associations in one trade, *and those associations do not agree as to the apportioning of the work,*

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either in respect of quantity or description, or as to the prices to be charged for it, we retain all the evils of competition, and retain them even intensified; and of this danger we warn our associations day after day. I believe indeed, and I think any one will see, that arrangements as to the apportioning of the work, as above suggested, or as to the prices to be charged, would be infinitely easier between fifty associations of tailors, than between 23,000 individual journeymen; and in this view our society has provided, that "the price of the articles sold by the different associations of the same trade and place shall be regulated by those associations, subject to the control of the Central Board," (composed of representatives of all the associations in the different trades,) "in such a manner as to prevent either monopoly or unfair competition."* But I will not stop over this point, because the reviewer will perhaps say, that I am only shifting my ground to the other horn of the dilemma; that such arrangements between various associations of the same trade would practically amount to monopoly.

Well, then, what is meant by saying, that if there be but one association in each trade, we shall have "all the evils of monopoly?" We will assume, for the present, that monopoly must be evil; that the bringing the 23,000 journeymen tailors of London into one association would only be to embody and concentrate the collective selfishness of the whole number, and not their collective wisdom, uprightness, manliness,—just as the House of Lords, I presume, must be taken to embody the collective selfishness of the whole peerage, and not its collective wisdom, uprightness, manliness. What

* *Tract* V. *on Christian Socialism*, p. 7, art. 6.

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then? is it not obvious that, from the moment there are two trades only, each needing the services of the other, thoroughly associated, the monopoly of each is at end against the other; that the field of each monopoly is narrowed by the admission of every new trade into the union, and vanishes into nothing from the moment that all are included? It would be well if our reviewer, who is so constantly denouncing Mr. Kingsley's hastiness and impatience, had read somewhat more deliberately his pamphlet of *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*.) He would there have seen that this fearful dilemma was, at all events, clearly foreseen from the beginning. "The association," it is said, "knows no withdrawal from business; it must grow in length and in breadth, outlasting rival slopsellers, swallowing up all associations similar to itself, *and which might end by competing with it.*" (There, you see, is the one "horn" of competition.) "*Monopoly!* cries a free-trader," (the other "horn," clearly) "with hair on end. Not so, good friend; there will be no real free trade without association. *Who tells you that tailors' associations are to be the only ones?*" Was there ever such a mare's-nest as that found by our reviewer, where he talks of a dilemma "which half Mr. Kingsley's sagacity, if united with a less vivid fancy and a less copious vocabulary, would from the first have enabled him to foresee,"—that dilemma having been, in the very pages to which the reviewer repeatedly refers, distinctly foreseen and laid down,—ay, and the answer suggested, in a Socratic interrogation?

Is it possible that any of my readers do not yet understand the drift of the question, "Who tells you that tailors' associations are to be the only ones?" Then I will endeavour to explain it.

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Suppose a village in England, sufficiently remote from any great centre of population to forbid the easy influx of strangers in search of a living, and in which the various trades happen to be represented each by a single individual. There is one tailor, one shoemaker, one blacksmith, one butcher, one baker, and so forth. Each of these men will obviously have, strictly speaking, a monopoly of his own trade. But does it follow that this monopoly will be an evil one? that the prices charged will be exorbitant? If the butcher attempts to charge 2*s.* 6*d.* a pound for meat, what is easier than for baker, shoemaker, smith, and tailor, to combine against him, and by virtue of their respective monopolies, associated and in harmony amongst themselves, but excited to competition and warfare by his selfishness, to force down his prices again? And will not the same apply in turn to each, if each in turn were to try the same mad experiment?

But suppose, further, instead of leaving each trader to fix his own prices under the sole check of the fear of adverse monopolies, all these several traders were to combine regularly into one body, which should, after mutual explanations, and by mutual concert, fix the terms upon which each member should dispose of his wares to the others, could there be any "evils" in the monopoly of any, so far as respected all the other members of the combination? Now this is precisely what association, even in its present rude form, and under our feeble guidance, is attempting. It is a monopoly, I grant you; but it is the monopoly of all order and justice against all iniquity and disorder. It is the monopoly of fair prices and living wages against false prices and starvation wages. It is a monopoly; but a monopoly

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which, instead of narrowing, seeks only to widen its circle; which, if once it could take in this whole city, would not rest satisfied till it had taken in the whole country; if once this whole country, would grasp at the whole empire; if once the whole empire, would grasp at the whole world. We all know, says the reviewer, what monopoly means—"a restricted market, a gigantic job, a final and inevitable smash." O the fearful monopoly, of the whole world selling to the whole world all the articles which the whole world had produced, at prices fixed with the whole world's consent! O the "restricted market!" O the "gigantic job!" O the "final and inevitable smash"—of all frauds, oppressions, and iniquities under the sun![18]

You will see, I trust, by this time, that the "incessant denunciations of cheapness," which the reviewer attributes to Mr. Kingsley, must have been entirely misunderstood by him. He need not wonder whether Mr. Kingsley was an advocate for cheap corn; I answer for him at once, that he was—and many in this room know him for the author of one of the boldest papers yet written on the Free-trade side of the agricultural question. It is simply false that Mr. Kingsley, or any other socialist, has ever asserted that cheapness, as such, "is to be eschewed and denounced." Fair prices, once more, and not high prices, are our watchword; and one of the points on which we have most insisted is, the distinction between a *true* and a *false* cheapness. Shall I quote a passage to you from an unexceptionable source, from an *Address* by producers to producers—by the Castle-street tailors to *their brother-toilers of all trades*? "That cheapness alone is true," say they, "which results from the taking off of one or other of

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the burthens which heighten prices, as in the case of customs and excise duties; that cheapness is false, which is made up out of the maintenance of the workman. The former really extends the sale of commodities; the other must in the long run diminish it, by lessening the power to purchase throughout the most numerous class of the population." O learned doctors, who preach to the world from blue and yellow pulpits, when will you cease to believe in your own all-embracing, infallible foresight![19]

Our friend the reviewer's views on this point of cheapness are so one-sided, that I fear he will hardly understand me at a word, as the associated tailors of Castle-street expected to be understood by their fellow-workers of other trades. Does he really suppose that Mr. Kingsley, or any other socialist, is not aware that "the producer of one thing is the consumer of another?" Does he really suppose we are not aware that this "much-abused cheapness" most signally benefits the poor of all classes—*so far as they are able to profit by it?* I am sorry to say that we really were aware of all this beforehand, and have utterly failed to draw from it the conclusions which he draws in favour of slopsellers. We believe that the good of cheapness to the consumer, as well as the good of dearness to the producer, are items but on one side of the ledger respectively, and that a balance must be struck before any result can be obtained. We believe that a cheapness which starves the producer is as absurd as a dearness which deters the consumer. We believe that cheapness is only of avail to him that has money to buy, just as dearness is only of avail to him that has customers for the article he sells.[20] Protectionists in general see only one side

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of the argument—Free-traders, in general, such as our reviewer, only the other. *We* seek to see both, and to reconcile the contradiction between them. *You* seek to see only one, and perpetuate that contradiction. For whilst our one-eyed reviewer proclaims the absolute blessings of cheapness, he does not see that all the evils of monopoly are in full bloom around him. The "sagacious Proudhon," if he would condescend to study him, would show him far more powerfully than I could, or would have leisure to do, how competition and monopoly perpetually attract and succeed each other in our present state of things; and daily experience would show him the truth of the position. Two railway companies compete for a given time: amalgamation is the cure, and the result is,—monopoly. Prices are raised too high, seemingly or really,—a rival line is started, to be in turn swallowed in, if it be not crushed. And the same holds good of every line of omnibuses,—of every steam-packet company,—of every trade. If there is amalgamation and monopoly, the public is fleeced (unless, indeed, the *law*, that is, the representative of that chimera, social *concert*, steps in); if there is competition, the traders themselves are ruined. This reign of competition which we see around us, is it not really the reign of monopoly—the reign, as Fourier termed it, of "industrial feudalism?" Look at the vast establishments of the great competing tailors; the long range of Messrs. Nicoll's warehouses in Regent-street, and their distant, even Californian, agencies; the huge pile of Moses in Aldgate, with its West-end branch, with its many provincial branches; and Messrs. Hyams following closely in their wake;—do not all these great temples of competition bear "monopoly" inscribed upon them, in

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letters such as that he who runs may read it? Our reviewer triumphs in the idea, that there is no escape from competition but in monopoly, nor from monopoly but in competition, and chooses for the latter. We tell him there is no escape from either, where there is one already. You must have neither, or both at once.

I believe I have said nearly enough. I will not, I repeat it, enter into any defence of *Alton Locke*. I will not even be tempted into the discussion, whether it be "an illegitimate use of fiction to write stories for the purpose of illustrating an opinion or establishing a doctrine," the "soundness" of which literary canon, we are told, "will be obvious, if we reflect that the novelist *makes his facts* as well as his reasonings. Time was (April, 1833), when an Edinburgh reviewer, speaking of Miss Martineau's *Illustrations of Political Economy*, expressed himself as follows:—"Political economy, so taught and teaching by example, has another great advantage. It seizes the fancy, and must leave on the mind and heart a deep impression of the practical importance of its truths. From this living representation of it, we perceive that it is really a positive part of human life." Perhaps if *Alton Locke* had been written to extol, and not to "depreciate," competition, to dissect and not to "recommend" Christian Socialism, there would have been less of discrepancy between the two judgments. But let that pass. The rest of the review I think I may now leave to answer itself, so far as it has not been answered already in the *Christian Socialist*,[21] or by Mr. Kingsley, in his letter to the *Morning Chronicle*. When the reviewer speaks of or points out our desire to recal the time when the poor were at once the serfs and the protégés of the rich,

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Mr. Kingsley has had but to quote the first *Tract on Christian Socialism* to show that we have always protested against such a notion. When he hints at our encouraging a "reliance on external aid for objects which must be achieved by the working-classes themselves," and a looking for emancipation "in a change of circumstances and social arrangements, rather than in a change of character and conduct," what can we do, but refer to all that we have said and done in disproof of the assertion? We do not, indeed, pretend to be so stoical—I might even say, so revolutionary—in our principles as our reviewer, when he inveighs against those "artificial arrangements which make subsistence certain, enterprise superfluous, and virtue easy, low-pitched, and monotonous;" and beg leave to express here our unfeigned respect for many members of our privileged and wealthy classes, whose "virtue" we consider by no means "low-pitched," notwithstanding those "artificial arrangements" which make their "subsistence certain," and might, indeed, make "enterprise superfluous" for them, if they had chosen to be the slaves of circumstance instead of its masters.

One last word however. I should, perhaps, in the course of this lecture, have stopped to thank the reviewer for the kind or half-kind things he says of Socialism and of ourselves. We have seen that he "agrees with the Socialists" in their views of the happy future of the earth at no distant date; as to the working-classes in particular, he has visions "as bright and hopeful as any Socialist can indulge in." Socialism itself, he tells us, "has appeared in a soberer guise, and purified from much of its evil intermixtures; . . . it has shown itself an actual and energetic reality in France;

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. . . it has spread among the intelligent portions of the working-classes in our own country more extensively than is commonly believed; . . . clergymen of high literary reputation give in their scarcely-qualified adhesion" to it. Again, he "rejoices to see the spirit, energy, and faithfulness with which many" of the associations in Paris are carried out, and "wishes them all possible success." He does not "in the least object to our own associations;" he does "not even object to the proceedings of those excellent and compassionate individuals who suggest and assist in their formation;" he will "rejoice to see them spread, wherever their rules do not contain any self-destroying fallacy, for, though they will not meet and cure our great social malady, they will raise, comfort, and instruct the individual workmen."

But, however great the authority of our reviewer, he has not been the first to say such kind things of Socialism. If we look to the deliberately-expressed sentiments of the great living master of political economy, in the second edition of his work, we shall find him, in his chapter on "Property," after quoting the names of Owen, Louis Blanc, Cabet, St. Simon, Fourier, saying in general terms:* "It would be too much to affirm that communities constituted on *any* of these principles *could not permanently subsist.*" Again, after going through the arguments against Communism, he says: "These arguments are not applicable to St. Simonism, a system of far higher intellectual pretensions than the former." Proceeding to Fourierism, he says: "It is apparent that this system, unlike Com-

* Mill's *Political Economy*, i. p. 249, and following.

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munism, does not, in theory at least, withdraw any of the motives to exertion which exist in the present system of society." He repeats again, respecting it: "Even from so brief an outline, it will be perceived that this system does no violence to any of the general laws by which human action . . . . is influenced." And he concludes his review of Socialist systems as follows: "We are as yet too ignorant of what individual agency in its best form, or Socialism in its best form, can accomplish, to be qualified to decide *which of the two will be the ultimate form of human society.* In the present stage of human improvement at least, it is not (I conceive) the subversion of the system of individual property that should be aimed at, but the improvement of it, and the participation of every member of the community in its benefits. Far, however, from looking upon the various classes of Socialists with any approach to disrespect, I honour the intentions of almost all who are publicly known in that character—the acquirements and talents of several; *and I regard them, taken collectively, as one of the most valuable elements of human improvement now existing;* both from the impulse they give to the reconsideration and discussion of all the most important questions, and from the ideas they have contributed to many; *ideas from which the most advanced supporters of the existing order of society have still much to learn.*"

Let us trust that our critics will accept this lesson from another than ourselves, and pause in future before they decree, *ex cathedrâ*—with the *Eclectic* reviewer, that Socialism is "impossible;" with the *Edinburgh*, that "concert" in the distribution of labour is "a chimera or a tyranny."

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NOTES.

NOTE 1.—It is not a little remarkable, that the title of "English Socialism and Communistic Associations" was in fact given up before it was published, since the article was heralded to the world in the advertisements under the different one of *English Socialism: Alton Locke.* I will not pretend to suggest a reason for the alteration.

NOTE 2.—The career of the great Socialist leaders has generally been a most rugged one.

FOURIER builds up in all but penury his *Theory of Universal Unity*, is maintained for fifteen years by one of his disciples (Mme. Vigoureux) upon 1500f. (60*l.*) a year; secures for himself that paltry sum latterly by the sale of his MSS. Refusing to enter upon any commercial speculation,—refusing a pension when it might have been obtained for him,—derided by the vast majority of the public,—feeding, of purpose, ridicule itself by publishing the most eccentric portions of his doctrine,—he dies at last, and only after his death does his school attain to that celebrity and influence which it has since acquired.

ST. SIMON, to publish one of his works, is obliged to live on bread and water, to stint himself of fire in winter. He dies neglected, and only after his death, also, does his school attain a momentary éclat.

OWEN's fate is still more singular. At first the most successful of manufacturers, he attains to the very height of popularity, is the honoured guest of ministers of state, and of all the most marking men of the day, dedicates one work to the Prince Regent, sees

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another presented by Lord Sidmouth to all the bench of bishops, and sacrifices all his popularity and influence to what he deems to be principle,—his aversion to the religions of the day. He spends his fortune, becomes the butt of all hatred and contempt on the part of many classes of his fellow-countrymen, and lives still—an old man of past eighty years of age—constant to that form of Socialism which he has adopted, and proclaiming the omnipotence of those "circumstances," against the tyranny of which his whole life has been a continual protest.

I do not wish to palliate the faults or follies of any one of these men. But I venture to think, that when every abatement has been made on account of these faults or follies, their life's task will be found one far "harder, rougher, more unthankful" than that of any teacher of political economy, with whom they have yet shared at least the attempt (however misdirected) to "attack the source rather than the symptoms," to "eradicate social evils, rather than alleviate them." Indeed, the prompt recognition of the worth of political economy as a science, and of the services of its leading teachers, is one of the most creditable features of our age.

NOTE 3.—"The more observing readers of my first letter may have remarked that, however strong a Socialist I may be, I do not join in the vulgar outcry against political economy in general, as absurd and inhuman. I distinctly stated my belief that our future practical science must be built up, more or less, on the laws discovered by the political economists of this and the last generation. To build up an inverted pyramid of Socialism on any abstract dogmas, or absolute rights, as some Frenchmen have done, would make as unnatural a bubble of it as chemistry was made by the same process, before Bacon and Boyle taught men to observe nature reverently, and find out what she *did* do, instead of settling beforehand for themselves what they would *make* her do. And what Bacon and Boyle did for chemistry, Malthus, Bentham, and many more, have done for social science. They said: 'All these universal facts of population, production, distribution, exchange, must, like everything else in the world, be governed by certain laws. We will find out, by carefully examining and comparing every fact we can lay hold of, what those laws are.' This was a right and philosophical method, and I have no doubt, from what I have read of them, that they did their work as successfully and honestly as fallible men generally do in this fallible world. I believe, therefore, that to understand the social science of the future, we are bound to

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have a sound general knowledge of what these men have already discovered; and that to be a sound and scientific Socialist, a man must be first a sound and scientific political economist. . . No one, I say, must expect to be of use in the social science of the future, unless he understands the social science of the past, defective though it be; and young and enthusiastic men, whether they be clergymen or artisans, before they begin cursing Malthus and Bentham, would do well to sit down quietly and read them, or, at least, to acquaint themselves from later authors with the newest improvements on their theories."—*Thoughts on the Frimley Murder*, II. by Parson Lot.—*Christian Socialist*, p. 18.

NOTE 4.—"The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations. *According, therefore, as this produce, or what is purchased with it, bears a greater or smaller proportion to the number of those who are to consume it*, the nation will be better or worse supplied with all the necessaries and conveniences for which it has occasion."—*Wealth of Nations*, Introduction.

It is obvious that the idea of distribution, or of the shares in which the produce of labour or its equivalents may be enjoyed by the consumers, is wholly overlooked in the above words, which open Adam Smith's great work.

NOTE 5.—"Every one has a notion, sufficiently correct for common purposes, of what is meant by wealth. . . . All know that it is one thing to be *rich*, another thing to be enlightened, brave, or humane; that the questions how a nation is made *wealthy*, and how it is made free, or virtuous, or eminent in literature, in the fine arts, or in polity, are totally distinct inquiries."—Mill's *Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 2.

NOTE 6.—See this point well put, in Mr. James Hole's *Lectures on Social Science*, p. 26. London: John Chapman, 1851.

NOTE 7.—I presume that it will be sufficient for me in this place to refer to Ricardo's chapter "on Machinery" (*Political Works*, by M'Culloch, p. 235), in which he expresses with a noble frankness his change of opinion on the subject. He had once thought, he tells us, "that the labouring class would, equally with the other classes, participate in the advantage, from the general cheapness of

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commodities arising from the use of machinery." He had become convinced, "that the substitution of machinery for human labour is often very injurious to the interests of the class of labourers. My mistake," he says, "arose from the supposition, that whenever the net income of a society increased, its gross income would also increase. I now, however, see reason to be satisfied that the one fund from which landlords and capitalists derive their revenue may increase, while the other—that upon which the labouring class mainly depend—may diminish; and therefore it follows, if I am right, that the same cause which may increase the net revenue of the country may at the same time *render the population redundant, and deteriorate the condition of the labourer.*" And he enumerates, amongst other deductions from his views, the position, "3rdly, *that the opinion entertained by the labouring class, that the employment of machinery is frequently detrimental to their interests, is not founded on prejudice and error, but is conformable to the correct principles of political economy.*"

The labouring classes of the present day are beginning to see farther than they did in the days of Ricardo, farther than the great Plutonomist himself. They perceive that by association all the good effects of machinery may be preserved, and its evil effects avoided; that from the moment when its advantages are not monopolized by the few capitalists, but imparted to the many working men, every machine will become, what it really should be, a saving of toil to all, and not a stoppage of work to some and an increase of labour to the remainder.

NOTE 8.—The example of India, though more distant, is equally fearful.

NOTE 9.—"He could not look around in this great town, and on the mighty achievements which had been going on in it, and admit that co-operation (as the last speaker had said) had not been tried, for it was by co-operation that all those achievements had been accomplished. Was it by competition that all those great machines had been produced which are at work around us? No; it had been by working together—by the thoughts of different men working to the same end, and by the co-operating hands of thousands of working men. He did not say there was no field for the operation of competition; but when this competition was put forth as the great law of human action—when they were told that we only act while we are striving to hinder each other from acting—why, it was abso-

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lutely monstrous; and it was the mightiest contradiction ever invented by human beings to say that *that* was what had produced any great and mighty results. No; it was by our working, and feeling, and thinking together that we had done these things."—"Speech of the Rev. F. D. Maurice at Manchester, January 7th, 1851."—*Christian Socialist*, p. 94.

NOTE 10.—"I say that the distress of the tailors *clearly* does *not* arise from their being more numerous than the demand requires, *but from the great number of useless middle-men in their trade; from the improper distribution of the money paid for the goods produced by them, and the improper amount of production thus forced from them*, which obliges them to work one-third more time than they ought to work, making them take their wives from their household and mothers' duties, and their children from school, to earn altogether only as much as the father would earn if the whole profit on his work were secured to him; *and from the limitation of the demand for their produce by the great number of useless middle-men in all other trades.* The question is not a matter of opinion, but of fact, and here are my data. There are twenty-three thousand five hundred tailors in London, two thousand five hundred of them masters, three thousand workmen in the honourable trade, and eighteen thousand in the dishonourable trade, according to Mr. Mayhew. There are then two thousand five hundred middle-men or master-tailors in London, whose function is the distribution and superintendence of the work done by others. As Mr. Mill has said of distributors generally, their work might be done by one-tenth of the present number under an organized system of trade, so that two thousand two hundred and fifty of these middle-men tailors are useless burdens on the industry of the men. The money now paid to these two thousand two hundred and fifty middle-men, and which would then be saved to the working tailors themselves, would be, for their rent, say at 50*l.* a year each, 112,500*l.*; their superintendence, say at 100*l.* a year each, 225,000*l.*; and their monopolist's profit, say at 100*l.* a year each, 225,000*l.*—making a total of 562,500*l.* And taking our reviewer's estimate (which would make every journeyman tailor out of work for three months and a half in the year now) that there is full and constant work for only fifteen thousand men (of whom two thousand five hundred would probably belong to the honourable trade, and twelve thousand five hundred to the slop-trade), we should have six thousand unemployed men to support, for doing which the removal of the useless middle-men gives us a

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fund of 562,500*l.*, so that we could pay these six thousand men above 90*l.* a year each for doing nothing, if we so felt inclined, without injuring the men now employed, or the consumers at large. But as twelve thousand five hundred men are working for the slop-trade one-third more time than they ought to do, four thousand out of our six thousand unemployed men could do this extra work, and the other two thousand the work now improperly done by women and children. We should pay these six thousand men 60*l.* a year each, or 360,000*l.* out of our 562,500*l.*, and divide the remaining 202,500*l.* among the whole twenty-three thousand men, which would be between 8*l.* and 9*l.* a piece. If you think I have rated the returns of the London master-tailors too high (though considering the money now wasted in shop-fittings, high rents, &c., I believe they are far too low), halve them, and you will still have 281,250*l.* or above 40*l.* a year per man for your six thousand extra men.

Suppose, too, these fifteen thousand tailors now fully employed further saved, as they easily might do, 1*l.* a year each on their consumption of goods, by means of co-operative stores (which are an integral part of association), we then have a further 15,000*l.* to dispose of. Suppose the like process to go on throughout the kingdom, our million middle-men, distributors, or traders, with their at least 200*l.* a year each, reduced to a hundred thousand, and the 180,000,000*l.*, now uselessly spent on them, saved to the producers and consumers at large; will no new demand spring out of this? Should we hear a word of surplus labour then?"—"Christian Socialism and the *Edinburgh Review*, by F. J. Furnivall."—*Christian Socialist*, p. 114.

NOTE 11.—"If it should so happen that none but a single large trade could be completely associated, the very produce of that trade would become in greater demand, on the part of the producers themselves. For there is no large trade in this civilized nineteenth century, in which all the producers are adequately supplied with their own produce. The labourer grows corn, and suffers hunger; the tailor makes coats, and is destitute of raiment. Has not the *Morning Chronicle* told us, and Parson Lot the reviewer, 'It is very often the case that a man working under a sweater is obliged to pawn his own coat to get any pocket-money that he may require . . . . and when the man's coat is in pledge, he is compelled to remain imprisoned in the sweater's lodgings for months together. In some sweating places, there is an old coat kept called a 'reliever,' and this is borrowed by such men as have none of their own to go out in. There are very

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few of the sweater's men who have a coat to their backs, or a shoe to their feet, to come out into the streets on Sunday.' Such was probably the case of many a one amongst those journeymen tailors, from whom a middleman, the Jew sponge-seller, wrung his 3000*l.* a year to keep his carriage on. Will any one pretend that if those 3000*l.* a year, (not to speak of any under-sweaters' profits) had been divided amongst the journeymen, the demand of those very men for clothes would not have been increased?"—*Ibid*, p. 115.

NOTE 12.—"The duty of a man is to do what is just; and the circumstances that determine what *ought* to be the price of an article may by no means be the same as those that determine what *is* its price in the market. Thus, if a starving bootmaker offers me a pair of boots at a price which I know cannot repay him, all the political economy in the world cannot make it right in me to take advantage of the man's necessities, and buy the cheap boots. *I ought to pay him more than he asks.*"—*North British Review*, vol. xiv., p. 412.

NOTE 13.—"Masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit but constant and uniform combination, not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate. To violate this combination is everywhere a most unpopular action, and a sort of reproach to a master among his neighbours and equals. We seldom, indeed, hear of this combination, because it is the usual, and, one may say, the natural state of things, which nobody ever hears of."—*Wealth of Nations*, book I. chap. viii.

The *Edinburgh Review* once attempted to prove that such a combination was impossible; but that if it could take place, it would be highly beneficial to the working classes!

NOTE 14.—Observe that amongst the working classes the common observation is, that "two can live cheaper together than alone;" and it was by virtue of this axiom, as to the economy of marriage, that the advisableness of co-operative stores lately commended itself to the judgment of a female servant in a family of my acquaintance. And there is no doubt that the saying is perfectly true, even in those cases where the wife confines herself to household duties; still more so where by her work she can add to the common stock. Yet I am not aware of any leading political economist who has ever taken notice of an argument, *primâ facie* at least, so powerful against the operation of the "prudential check upon marriage" in those classes.

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NOTE 15.—A learned professor of University College has, I am told, impugned those remarks of mine, urging that it is no more inconsistent to proclaim competition as a law of nature, and yet to attempt to keep down population, than to proclaim gravitation as a law of nature, and yet to restrain a man from throwing himself down a precipice. Surely there is at least this difference, that competition is proclaimed by the plutonomists—*e. g.*, our reviewer—as a law which is to "operate unchecked," whereas the law of gravitation is one which we control and check at every step which we take. See Mr. Maurice's observations on this argument, in his *Reasons for Co-operation.*

But the analogy chosen by the learned professor is most singularly inappropriate; for gravitation is essentially an attractive force—one which tends to bring bodies closer together, and answers, therefore, precisely to *co-operation* in social mechanics, whilst competition is a repulsive force, tending only to separate men from one another. So obvious is this, that Fourier invariably speaks of himself and Newton together, as the discoverers—one, of the system of material, the other of social, or (as he termed it) passional attraction.

NOTE 16.—I own that a further consideration of the subject has made me shrink from the magnitude of the task. I feel, moreover, deeply impressed with the truth of a remark by a friend, who takes a lively interest in scientific agriculture, that "the political economists found two things, Population and Production; of the former they knew something; of production, to judge from their own works, no more than a gate-post. So they busied themselves with population, and left production to shift for itself." Now, as I am myself as ignorant of agriculture as any political economist, I feel that it is equally out of place for me to treat of a question, which I cannot hope thoroughly to solve. A few hints may, however, be of service for others to work out.

The propositions which Mr. Malthus considered himself to have established in his *Essay on Population* are as follows:—

1. "Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.

2. "Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks.

3. "These checks, and the checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means

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of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery."

Let us first assume that all three propositions are correct. *The whole of Mr. Malthus's Work will yet be found to be one long argument for Socialism, and will be confirmed as such by all history.* The whole of it will show that, precisely in proportion as society is *more social*, as the various members of it understand better their duties to one another, are bound together by closer and more harmonious ties, fulfil with greater energy their mission of "subduing" the earth, population presses less, in proportion to the space covered, upon the means of subsistence. A hundred thousand Europeans in Australia live in almost incredible plenty upon the soil which once afforded the scantiest subsistence to a few tribes of wretched savages. The teeming millions of Anglo-Saxons in the New World have replaced, perhaps, as many tens of thousands of Red-skins, and their comforts have increased as yet far beyond their numbers. And, on the other hand, precisely as the state of things in an old country becomes anti-social, the pressure of population increases beyond measure, the checks of vice and misery become predominant; hence the Irish famine, hence the infant mortality of Manchester and Liverpool. And this is, indeed, plainly admitted by Mr. Malthus himself. He considered himself to have clearly shown* "that those countries, the inhabitants of which were sunk in the most barbarous ignorance, or oppressed by the most cruel tyranny, however low they might be in actual population, were very populous in proportion to their means of subsistence; and upon the slightest failure of the seasons generally suffered the severities of want." Mr. Malthus attributed this advantage of civilized over barbarous life solely to the power of moral restraint; and it is this portion of his doctrine which has been chiefly seized hold of by later writers, whose views of society are far more hopeful than his own, and which has been made by them, as it were, the turning point of the whole question of population, although it is obvious that Mr. Malthus only looked upon it in a very secondary light, since he did not admit it to the rank of a fourth fundamental axiom. Thus Mr. Thornton, in his work on *Over Population*,† says, in strong terms, "Misery, the inevitable effect and symptom of over-population, thus seems to be likewise its principal promoter. . . . . Wherever population has received an undue impulse, the people have first been rendered reck-

* *Essay on Population*, ii. 239.
† Thornton *on Over-Population*, pp. 121-22.

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less by privation." Mr. Alison,—who would not call himself a Malthusian, but who is much more of one than he really imagines, —says, in like manner:* "It is a most important and luminous fact on the subject of population, that in every well-regulated society, the rate of increase is slowest in the most opulent classes; barely perceptible in the middling ranks; and rapid only in those situations where comfort and the influence of artificial wants are unknown." Mr. Mill puts the matter more tersely.† "In proportion as mankind rise above the condition of the beasts, population is restrained by the fear of want, rather than by want itself."

I think I am therefore entitled to conclude, that Socialism, which tends to raise the condition of the many—to give them new and higher wants—to strengthen by community of labour all habits of self-government, self-restraint, cannot superinduce any new dangers, arising out of the Malthusian laws of population, upon our existing society, but, on the contrary, tends essentially to diminish those dangers. This of itself suffices to show the short-sightedness of the reviewer's criticism, when he asks—how can associations "effect any purpose, except that of ameliorating the condition of the few who become members of them?" It follows necessarily from the views of Malthus, Thornton, Mill—that by "ameliorating the condition of the few," you always tend to ameliorate the condition of the many, through the check you thereby impose upon over-population, by making the *fear of want* to operate (to use Mr. Mill's expressions) where *want* alone could operate before.

I am not even prepared to say that associations in their present form, viz., for the carrying on in common of one particular trade, will not turn out far too powerful Malthusian checks upon population. It would be, I suppose, impossible to deny that the multiplication of clubs tends strongly to retard the period of marriage for young men of the wealthier classes, by offering them almost all the comforts of a home at an expense comparatively trifling. Exactly the same results, I apprehend, may be expected from the development and success of associations among the working classes, so long as they are confined to one sex, so long as they cannot be brought into harmony with the principle of family life. Let me quote Malthus again on this point:‡—"It is the diffusion of luxury . . . . among the mass of the people, and not an excess

* Alison *on the Principles of Population*, i. 122.
† *Political Economy*, p. 193.
‡ Vol. ii. pp. 427, 428.

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of it in a few, that seems to be most advantageous, both with regard to national wealth and national happiness . . . . and if it be observed that a taste for the comforts and conveniences of life will prevent people from marrying, under the certainty of being deprived of these advantages, it must be allowed that we can hardly expect to find any check to marriage so little prejudicial to the happiness and virtue of society as the general prevalence of such a taste; and, consequently, that the extension of luxury, in this sense of the term, is particularly desirable, and one of the best means of raising that standard of wretchedness alluded to in a former chapter."

I might, therefore, if I felt inclined, claim Mr. Malthus as a special patron of that form of association which is at present adopted in this country and in France. But, indeed, I consider that form of association to be only a temporary one, just as I consider the Malthusian check of "prudential restraint" to be one equally temporary in its nature, justifiable only in a social state, as yet dissonant and anomalous. It may be wrong for a man to bring children into the world whom he is unable to support; it must be still more wrong that a state of things should exist, in which human beings are condemned to unwilling celibacy—tempted perpetually to vice; in which children can be born into the world only to be a burthen to others. If I did not believe that Socialism could remedy that evil, I might take it up as a clever economical system; I could not believe in it as the social embodiment of Christian truth.

We have hitherto considered Mr. Malthus' propositions as being strictly correct. Let us now take a different view of the question. The third, I think it may be said henceforth, is demonstrably incorrect. The checks upon population are not resolvable into three only—"moral restraint, vice, and misery." There is a fourth—*luxury*—considered in itself, and as a physical cause of action, apart from the "prudential restraint" which Mr. Malthus considered to spring from it.

I cannot, I own, feel sufficiently surprised at the neglect of this point of physiology, not only on the part of Mr. Malthus, but of Mr. Mill himself. It will not be necessary for me to refer to Mr. Doubleday's work, which I have never seen, and only know by reviews. The fact is one, so to speak, of universal notoriety. So old a medical work as Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*, in full repute when Malthus wrote, points out most distinctly a poor diet as a cure for barrenness. Nay, the father of modern political economy

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himself, Adam Smith, is explicit on the point. Poverty, he says,* with something of the coarseness of his age and country, "seems even to be favourable to generation. A half-starved Highland woman frequently bears more than twenty children, while a pampered fine lady is often incapable of bearing any, and is generally exhausted by two or three. Barrenness, so frequent among women of fashion, is very rare among those of inferior station. Luxury in the fair sex, while it inflames, perhaps, the passion for enjoyment, seems always to weaken, and frequently to destroy altogether, the powers of generation." And Mr. Sadler is, therefore, quite justified in saying,† that "it would be insulting to the intelligence of the reader to tell him, that spare living and constant labour, in the animal creation, as effectually promote fecundity as pampered indolence is fatal to it." Indeed, the testimony of all agricultural experience is uniform in this respect.

But the admission of the physical check of "luxury" wholly overthrows the second position of Mr. Malthus, that "Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase," since it shows that there is a point at which an increase of the means of subsistence *actually limits*, instead of increasing population.

Fourier, who perhaps saw the chief benefits of association in the abundance and well-being which it would produce, insists frequently upon this consideration. He had obviously never read Malthus, and Mr. Doubleday had not yet written; yet he distinctly points out the future slackening of population amongst the "Harmonians," by means, amongst other things, of the luxurious diet of association, as well as by the protracting of the period of puberty, through a chaste and invigorating educational system.

The latter point deserves, I conceive, the earnest attention of physiologists, as well as political economists. The premature puberty of the manufacturing districts is one of the most lamentable, most incredible results of the competitive system. Perhaps a third, less noticed, check upon population would be found in the diffusion of intellectual pursuits amongst all classes. Mental labour, when excessive, is certainly unfavourable to reproduction; and it is at least a question, whether it does not always operate to some extent in this sense.

Now it is obvious that these three checks to population,—physical

* *Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. 8.
† Sadler's *Law of Population*, ii. 585.

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abundance,—late puberty—the diffusion of intellectual labour,—all of which are likely to result from a true system of Socialism,—are all, in contradistinction to the "prudential restraint" of the competitive system, *natural* checks, checks which violate none of the feelings or affections of mankind,—*wholesome* checks—checks free from all those body-and-soul-destroying expedients into which "prudential restraint" is so apt to degenerate. And it is observable, that none of them does violence to the scriptural command, which the Malthusians find so much ado to deal with, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it," in which the command to be "fruitful and multiply" is clearly antecedent to the "replenishing and subduing" the earth, so that, when once the earth is replenished and subdued, the motive for multiplication is at an end. It is, therefore, quite consistent with the command, and with every idea of God's gracious wisdom, that when the earth shall be fully subdued, and shall yield forth its full treasures of plenty, the further multiplication of the human race should cease, instead of its still tending fatally to "increase beyond the means of subsistence," according to the Malthusian theory.

It will be observed that I agree so far with the Malthusians, as to believe that the greatest possible multiplication is not the greatest possible good; but I differ from them fundamentally in this, that whilst they assert rapid multiplication to be evil, they assert also the tendency of the human race to multiply to excess, thus perpetuating fatally a most wretched contradiction. I believe, on the contrary, that a moderate rate of multiplication is precisely that to which the human race, under proper circumstances, naturally tends, and, therefore, that there is no contradiction between its destinies and its duties.

And I believe these views to be strongly borne out by Scripture History. There is nothing more remarkable in the accounts of the patriarchs, than the small number of their families compared to their longevity, and the (apparent) lateness of their full development of manhood. Five children only are ascribed to Shem, who lives 600 years; seven to Japheth; four to Ham; Shem begets his eldest son at 100 years old. Even at a much later period, Ishmael, Abraham's eldest son, is born to him at 86. The thirteen children of Jacob are by no means an inordinate number for a life of 147 years; and some of his sons have singularly small families; Dan, one son; Joseph, two; Zebulon and Levi, three; Benjamin, whose family is the largest, ten; and these small numbers will be found

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continued in the next generation—Manasseh, one son, &c. It is only in much more degenerate times that we find the seventy sons of Gideon, the thirty of Jair, the numerous families of David and Ahab, &c. All these records tell strongly against the Malthusian doctrine, by showing that a simple race, living in plenty, and full of physical vigour, as is proved by their longevity, by no means tended to increase beyond the means of subsistence, but, on the contrary, multiplied at a slow rate whilst these favourable circumstances continued. And again, there is a world of meaning in the passage of Exodus (i. 12), "*The more they* (the Egyptians) *afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew.*"

So much for the question of Population in itself. On that of Production I shall, for the reasons before stated, endeavour to be brief. It is obvious that, whatever may be the effects of Socialist well-being in checking population by natural means, it requires yet to be shown that production can ever outstrip population, so as to produce that well-being. Now it is remarkable, in the first place, as pointed out by Mr. Alison, that whatever may be the different ratios of increase between them, production has yet, on the whole, kept pace with population. The United States, doubling in twenty-five years, yet abundantly supply their own population, and have a large surplus of food to export; the imports of foreign wheat into the British Isles form, as yet, but a very small portion of their consumption. And it is hardly an answer to this observation to say, that the consumption of the United States is supplied by bringing new lands into cultivation. For this would involve the fallacy of using a different area for population and production, which would surely destroy all accuracy in the attempt to estimate the different ratios of increase. The question is, for the present at least—does the population *occupying* a given area increase more rapidly than the food with which it can supply itself within that area? not, does that population increase more rapidly than the food produced on a given portion of that area? Even, therefore, in that most unsocial state of things which we see around us, population has but little outstripped production; and the question is, whether it would not be possible to bring up production within the required margin?

I cannot help thinking that it would. Mr. Porter, in his *Progress of the Nation*, tells us that the agricultural produce of England at large could be doubled. Mr. Alison estimates the population which the British Isles could support at 120,000,000. This would be, by the using of all available means, by the improvement of agricul-

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ture, and the taking into cultivation of those 15,000,000 acres of cultivable wastes which yet remain, the whole extent of soil under the plough not reaching 20,000,000 at present. It is the opinion of a friend in the agricultural districts, that the produce of the cultivated land alone could be raised fully one-third by scientific methods, "without the application of sewage manure." Now the effects of this manure, as exhibited in the evidence laid before the Health of Towns Commission and the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Metropolitan Sewage Manure,* are perfectly marvellous. The late Mr. Smith, of Deanston, showed that, in Scotland, "poor sandy land on the sea-shore, which might be worth 2s. 6d. per acre, lets at an annual rent of from 15*l.* to 20*l.*," whilst "land which let formerly at from 40*s.* to 6*l.* per Scotch acre, is now let annually at from 30*l.* to 40*l.*;" showing an increased value, —arising obviously from increased fertility,—in the waste land, of at least 12,000 per cent.; in the cultivated, of nearly 670 per cent. When it is considered that this is a source of fertility which increases regularly with every addition to the population, so that, if the instance of Manchester, supplied by Dr. Guy, be correct, "there is every year poured into the river, for each inhabitant, a quantity of fertilizing matter sufficient to supply an acre of wheat,"† we cannot, I think, help concluding, with the learned Professor of King's College, that "so perfect is the mutual dependence of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, that the increase of the one must lead inevitably to the increase of the other, provided always—and here is the hidden stumbling-block of the school of Malthus—provided always, that the land receives back again that which has been removed from it in the shape of food."

It is true that the marvellous results, in the way of increased produce above referred to, could not be expected when the use of sewage-manure should have become general, since they must flow in a great measure from the practically unlimited supply of the liquid, which, for want of adequate demand, can at present be applied to a given area of experiment. But there is one circumstance connected with the use of the manure which strikes me as peculiarly remarkable, which is, the progressive increase of produce, under favourable circumstances of temperature. The evidence of Mr. Dickinson, of Willesden, quoted in the *Analysis* before referred to, not only shows that by sewage-manure ten crops of grass in succession could

* See *Analysis of Evidence*, published by the Sewage Manure Company.
† *Lecture on the Health of Towns*, by W. A. Guy, M.B. (Renshaw, 1846.)

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be produced from the same land (which was not worth 12*s.* an acre before) in one year, but also that the produce of each crop increased with the temperature, from three-quarters of a load per acre as hay, to three loads per acre; the first crop being cut with about ten inches of grass, the second with about twenty, the third and fourth rising higher still, until the crops rose to three feet six inches in height. *A hundred horses were kept by this gentleman in grass food on four acres of land*, till he was obliged to shut up his grass for seed. He has grown *a yard of grass in twenty-one days.*

Now these facts, as it seems to me, completely and for ever dispose of Mr. Malthus's assertion,* that, even supposing that, "by the best possible policy, and great encouragements to agriculture, the average produce of the island could be doubled in the first twenty-five years . . . . in the next twenty-five years it is impossible to suppose that the produce could be quadrupled." We have here the proof that production can, under given circumstances, be more than quadrupled in a year; and that, not from a state of barrenness, but from one of comparative fertility, since Mr. Dickinson's first crop of ten inches, cut in March, was already a vast step in advance from the original barrenness of the land. And this is obviously, so far as mathematical terms can be applied to the subject, an increase in a geometrical ratio; thereby wholly disproving Mr. Malthus's further conclusion,† "that, considering the present average state of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio."

I am aware, indeed, that Mr. Mill speaks disparagingly of those who "have achieved an easy victory over a passing remark of Mr. Malthus, *hazarded chiefly by way of illustration*, that the increase of food may perhaps be assumed to take place in an arithmetical ratio, while population increases in a geometrical: when every candid reader knows that Mr. Malthus *laid no stress on this unlucky attempt* to give numerical precision to things which do not admit of it, and any person capable of reasoning must see that it is wholly superfluous to his argument."‡ With Mr. Malthus's work before me, I own that I am unable to find any grounds for the statement, that the remark on the two ratios was "hazarded chiefly by way of illustration," or that Mr. Malthus "laid no stress" upon it. The only doubt on Mr. Malthus's mind was, obviously, whether production

* Malthus *on Population*, i. 8, 9.
† *Ibid.*, i. 10.
‡ Mill's *Political Economy*, i. 437.

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could even increase in an arithmetical ratio. In order to admit the possibility, he is obliged to suppose (clearly contrary to his own inclination) that "no limits" are to be "placed to the power of the earth."* As to population, he says: "It may safely be pronounced" that it increases, when unchecked, "in a geometrical ratio."† As to the means of subsistence, "it may fairly be pronounced" that they "*could not possibly be made to increase faster* than in an arithmetical ratio."‡ He lays down clearly, at the opening of his second chapter, that "the ultimate check to population appears to be a want of food, *arising necessarily from the different ratios according to which population and food increase.*"§ He speaks again of the "allowing the produce of the earth to be absolutely unlimited," as scarcely removing "the weight of a hair from the argument, which *depends entirely upon the differently increasing ratios of population and food.*"‖ He speaks once more of his allowing "the produce of the earth to be unlimited, which is certainly going too far;" of "the different ratios of increase on which *all my principal conclusions are founded.*"¶ Surely it is difficult to lay more stress than is here done on the difference of ratios.

On the whole, therefore, I believe that we shall find, on the subject of population, no better or truer conclusions than those of Mr. Sadler.** The true system, he tells us, maintains "that there is in the natural progress of society a tendency for food to increase faster than population; at least, to become more certain in its supply, more profuse in quantity, and superior in quality; but that this improvement acts inversely on the principle of increase, which renders human beings more prolific when they are coarsely and scantily, and, on the contrary, less so when they are profusely and luxuriantly fed." And since Mr. Sadler wrote at a time when neither guano nor sewage-manure were yet used, it follows that our present experience has strengthened to an enormous degree his positions as to the possible increase of production. And I for one (although, for the reason before stated, I can claim no authority whatsoever on the subject) am ready to own the belief, that there would need but a proper application of skill and labour to the English soil, to create *at once* that vastly increased production, of which the fruits, if fairly distributed amongst all classes, and righteously made use of, would, by universal well-being, check altogether the too rapid increase of population.

* Malthus *on Population*, i. 11. † *Ibid.* i. 6. ‡ *Ibid.* i. 10.
§ *Ibid.* i. 12. ‖ *Ibid.* ii. 253. ¶ *Ibid.*, ii. Appendix, 450, 451.
** Sadler's *Law of Population*, ii. 591–2.

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It is obvious that I have here touched but upon one or two prominent points of the question. Mr. Mill, for instance, maintains that the necessity of restraining population is not superseded by free trade in food.* I have not discussed the matter, although the immensely increasing facilities of transport tend, as it seems to me, daily to diminish the weight of his arguments as respects ourselves. Neither have I entered upon the very interesting question of the productiveness of spade labour.

One last word, however. I have referred to Mr. Sadler's work on population. I hardly know of any book which is so little known in proportion to its merits. Even Mr. Alison barely refers to it in two or three places; Mr. Mill, so far as I can recollect, never. And to what is this owing? As far as I can make out, to an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (July 1830), attributed to the most brilliant historian of the day; till reading which, I own I had no idea of the unscrupulousness of literary criticism. About three-fourths of Mr. Sadler's book are taken up in controverting, as it seems to me most successfully, the positions of Mr. Malthus; about one-fourth, in setting up, though with far less of dogmatic authority than the latter, an equally unsuccessful theory of his own. With the exception of one single (of course the weakest) argument, the reviewer takes no notice whatever of the practical controversy which occupies the bulk of the work before him, and devotes his whole powers of sarcasm to the crushing of the theory which Mr. Sadler tentatively put forth as a substitute for that of Malthus, viz., that "the prolificness of human beings, otherwise similarly circumstanced, varies inversely as their numbers,"—a theory which, it will be obvious from what precedes, although incomplete, does yet approximate to the truth; since the slackening of human increase to be expected from social plenty, appears essentially connected with a previous actual addition to the numbers of a given population.

Note 17.—"Unless, then, it were shown, that the competition of labourers for employment was always precisely that which was needed to secure them the exact share they had in production (a proposition which must be untrue, on account of the continual variations in the competition), the doctrine of supply and demand, applied to wages, involves a continual injustice either to capitalist or labourer. As the competition, however, is in general amongst labourers, it follows that the principle is adverse to the interests of labour.

* Mill's *Political Economy*, i. 236.

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"But let it not be supposed that the capitalist is benefited, at least, to the same extent which the labourer loses. The competition of the surplus labourers having reduced wages, diminishes the consumption of the mass of society; it diminishes the profits of the capitalist, and his power of accumulation. Not only this, but he is additionally cursed by a superfluity of labour, and taxed to maintain the pauperized labourer; for if he did not do this, he would probably be robbed of the principal by social convulsion."—*Lectures on Social Science*, by James Hole, p. 33.

NOTE 18.—I do not, indeed, expect—I do not wish—our working associations to be considered as the ultimate form of social advancement. I look upon them, on the contrary, as purely transitional, although the period of transition seems likely to last for many years yet. Without speculating upon remote contingencies, I look forward confidently to a period when, all the various aptitudes of all men being developed by universal education, a combination of physical and intellectual, of agricultural and manufacturing labour shall be pursued by all in proportion to those aptitudes, and the division of labour shall be carried out, not by individuals chained down for a lifetime to a particular employment, but by "groups" of men (to use Fourier's expression) carrying on that employment in common and by choice, successively if need be, each for a limited period of the day. But I have not the slightest hope of living to see such a consummation.

NOTE 19.—I trust the foregoing expressions will not be considered as meant to cast any disparagement on the *Edinburgh Review* itself. Lest such an interpretation be put upon them, I will say at once that I have been myself, on one occasion, a contributor to that periodical, and share, therefore, those feelings of friendly regard which all who know him must bear towards its kindly and accomplished Editor.

NOTE 20.—"The custom which maintains the slopseller, and, to a great extent, almost every manufacturer, exists, in fact, in spite of themselves. The purchasing-power through which they live is, in fact, only the residue of that which was created under another system. They might develop their own selling power a hundredfold, and yet be always, as it were, cutting the throat of their future custom. The slopseller might sell dress-coats at ten shillings; but if he only paid sixpence for the making, he would be narrowing and not widening his market. Cheapness puts no money into the cus-

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tomer's pocket, however powerful to draw it out. To be drawn out, *there* it must be already; and if the slop-system, especially, last many years longer, it will be as palpable a mockery, as respects the custom of the working classes, as if a thief should offer stolen wares for sale to the man whose pockets he has just rifled. Fool! if you wanted to barter goods for money, you should have left the money where it was. You have made the supply valueless by destroying the demand."—*Prevailing Idolatries; Tract* VI. *on Christian Socialism*, p. 6.

NOTE 21.—It will be sufficient for me to refer here to the series, "Christian Socialism and the *Edinburgh Review*," by J. T. and F. J. Furnivall, contained in Nos. 14—17 of the *Christian Socialist*, pp. 107, 114, 122, 131.

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APPENDIX A.

"A REPLY TO THE ECLECTIC REVIEW."

THE following pages are the reproduction of two Articles under the above title, published in Nos. 16 and 17 of the *Christian Socialist*, pp. 121, 131.

"It is a difficult task to answer a writer who answers himself—difficult, because, whatever arguments may be urged against one side of his statements or reasonings, he is certain to take refuge on the other, and escape from the attack which threatens to carry his positions through the back door of his own inconsistencies. The author of an article in the January number of the *Eclectic Review*, on the Associated Labour movement, tells us that, 'For half a century has Capital, successor to Feudalism, been regarding unprotected human flesh and bones as its proper machinery and vested rights for money-getting,' till 'in happy England there are millions of bondmen, serfs in body and soul to the grinding oppression of unrequited toil, in starvation and death.' Yet to denounce the principle which has most prominently influenced these achievements of capital, the principle which has, one by one, removed all barriers to its free exercise, supplanted the older system by which it was in part held in check,—to denounce the principle of an unlimited, unregulated competition of individual producers or distributors between themselves, as the source of these evils,—is to propose to 'repeal a law of nature;' to prevent the 'practical exercise of self-dependence, the first law of progress;' to make a simple 'declaration in favour of Communism, which by tying up the energies of man will reduce

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him to the level of the beasts of burden;' to prevent 'the exercise of the mental gifts with which the Creator has endowed him.' Again: 'We believe,' he asserts, 'as sincerely as any wanderer in dream-land, that the spirit of Christianity must pervade *every social* institution, and regulate *every* action of humanity, ere man can hope for rest in his earthly pilgrimage.' But to invite men to realize in their practical life the spirit of honesty and brotherly feeling, to urge them to associate in order that they may be able to carry on their work in a spirit of kindliness to each other, and of strict fairness towards all with whom they deal, to ask them in these matters of daily, hourly occurrence, those little oft-repeated acts which make up the sum of life, to mind 'not their own things but the things of others,' and truly 'do as they would be done by,' and to urge upon them to establish such rules for their common guidance as shall be the natural expression of this principle, in those things which admit of being made the subject of rules,—to teach them that 'there is an order throughout all society which has its natural and necessary expression in united work, and its natural and necessary destruction in individual rivalship,' and that the true mode which those who would strive to realize the kingdom of Christ on earth should adopt, is to proclaim this state of things as that 'which God has made, and which men are trying to set at naught;' to do this—is to teach a narrow and degrading view of Christianity, making it not the great business of human existence as ordained by the Creator of the universe, but a means to an end—success in life!

"Yet once more: 'The present time,' he assures us, 'is one of deep interest and moment in the history of labour; a bright opportunity has opened for men of enlightenment and benevolence to *guide* their suffering fellows into the ways of progress and prosperity.' Yet when a body of persons, of whom he is informed that they include 'some men of considerable talents and educational acquirements, churchmen [we presume he means clergymen] and laymen,' come forward and form themselves into a society to discharge this difficult task to the best of their ability, when they constitute a Council of Promoters 'in order to collect and administer all funds contributed or advanced to this society for the promotion of such objects,' instantly he finds 'centralization at every step,' 'an attempt to teach the mysteries of tailoring and shop-keeping by means of lectures.'

"Surely we make no unreasonable request when we ask of this double-tongued oracle to inform us which of his ambiguous utter-

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ances contains the true answer. Are the working-classes to look for guidance from those whose greater advantages of fortune and position may qualify them to be their guides, or are they not? Are we to reverence in Christianity a principle which is to animate our daily life on earth, to give a colour to our actions and a form to our institutions? Does the true service of God involve a perpetual service of our fellow-creatures? or is Christianity a something apart from our habitual life, from our workshops and our pleasures; a thing for pulpits, and platforms, for work-day evening lectures, and 'Sabbath day' observances—a charm by which we trust to open for ourselves after death the entrance to a universe of infinite sweet things, but which on earth is of but little use, except for enabling the preachers in 'ten thousand parish churches every Sunday morning' to declare that 'mankind has not yet learned' it? Are we to judge of the tree by its fruits, or can it be possible that a system which has for half a century been growing and extending itself with a rapidity unexampled before in the history of mankind, and which at last produces results so mournful as those admitted by the *Eclectic* reviewer to have flowed from the existing system of industry, is, notwithstanding this, the expression of a true principle, and its evils but the consequence of causes which a more complete development of the same principles may be expected to remove?

"Meanwhile, however, we will endeavour to give what we believe to be the true explanation of the inconsistencies we have noticed. We confess that the solution puzzled us not a little for some time. Was the author sincere at all, or was his whole article a feint? an attempt to excite distrust in the ranks of Socialism, to divide those whose incipient union was dreaded? to untie the cord which bound the bundle of faggots together; that in this separate weakness they might be individually destroyed? We were unwilling to attribute to a writer who showed some evidence of earnestness, a design so base, and at last found in the peculiar characteristics of the body, of whose opinions the *Eclectic Review* is one of the recognised exponents, a solution of the mystery which we thus enounce. The Social theory of the writer of this article is essentially a congregational theory, his Socialism—for Socialism he has, though a very confused, imperfect Socialism—is a chapel Socialism. The Catholic views of general union which have floated before the vision of the original propounders of Christian Socialism, as they have before that of the great writers who have put forward Socialist theories in independence of Christianity, have naturally but little

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attraction for persons in this state of mind. To union, if it do not go beyond the sort of union which may be obtained by a single congregation, to a union such as the Working Tailors' Joint Stock Company established in the spring of last year in Oxford-street (to which, be it said in passing, we wish all success); to the 'exemplary Working Man's Joint Stock Company called the Jersey-street Association,' established two years since at Manchester, for the purpose of enabling working-men to purchase provisions at wholesale prices; or to the similar institution at Rochdale, of which an account has appeared in our earlier numbers, the reviewer is favourable. But there must be two characteristics in such institutions before he will allow them a prospect of success, a separate existence, to which he gives the imposing name of self-reliance, and competition. Now these are precisely the characteristics of Congregationalism.

"The ideal world of the reviewer is the chapel forming the centre for the workshop. Each little knot of separate worshippers, 'judging for themselves how their own affairs should be conducted,' without reference to any one else, in the plenitude of their own infallibility, gathered round the preacher, who naturally feels that to shut him out from *competition*, that is to say, from thinning the benches of a rival chapel by more powerful sermons, would be to fetter him in the 'exercise of the mental gifts with which the Creator has endowed' him.

"From this point of view, the inconsistencies which we have pointed out above cease to be surprising—rather they may be said to be unavoidable, and might be left, without further comment, mutually to destroy each other. Yet it may not be amiss to say a few words in conclusion upon the two defects which the reviewer considers to disfigure the form of association proposed by the Christian Socialists, namely, the want of *self-reliance* and of *competition*.

"Self-reliance is a noble quality, if by it be intended that the individual looks for success rather to that which is to be found in himself, or, say we rather, with God's assistance may certainly be educed out of himself, than to that which is to be done for him by others;—if he look to his own activity, perseverance, true-heartedness and gentleness, his own denial of selfish passion, his own progress in the practical fulfilment of the law of Love—as that by which he is to succeed, rather than to any advances of capital made to him on any terms, however favourable, by those who, being richer than himself, may be disposed to employ a part of

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their riches to enable him to arise out of the atmosphere of selfishness engendered by the system of competitive industry. But to confuse with this spirit, as the *Eclectic* reviewer does, that spirit of self-will, which spurns assistance instead of thankfully using it, which disdains advice instead of looking to it and endeavouring to profit by it, which cannot endure government, although it be honestly directed to the good of the governed, is assuredly to mistake the mock jewel for the genuine stone. The sturdy independence so generally characteristic of the Saxon race, is doubtless commonly associated with an honest, fearless straightforwardness, which we justly admire; but it is also not uncommonly associated with a spirit of self-will, which needs to be well watched and subdued if we would associate at all: and it is precisely because the spirit of Christianity, which would have us honour others rather than ourselves, is opposed to this and every other selfish tendency by which men are kept at a distance from each other, in isolated individuality, that we proclaim it as the true spirit of association, the secret life of the co-operative body.

"But *competition*, high honoured, blessed competition; what shall we say to the charge that we refuse to worship at the shrine of this great god? We say fearlessly that we do refuse to worship there at all. We do denounce, not as the reviewer would have us do, only the abuse or excess of competition, but the *system* of competition, the setting forth the *spirit* of competition, *that is the desire to surpass*, or, in trading language, to beat out of the market some one else, as the great curse of industry; the bane of healthful exertion. —That there are diversities of gifts, diversities of utterances of that deep Spirit of Whom all life is the utterance, different in their value, and therefore entitled to be valued differently, we know well. All members are not the same member, as an apostle has eloquently told us: 'the eye is not the hand, nor the foot the head;' all are needful, all are of the body, all alike entitled to be cared for by all the rest; but all have not the same function, nor are all entitled to the same reward. And therefore in the plan of co-operative exertion proposed by the advocates of Christian Socialism, there is included, as the reviewer ought to have known, the proposal that wages should vary according to the nature of the work done, and the skill and industry of the workman. Now so long as men are born babes into the world, so long as goodness is the slow result of long years of patient self-training, of learning to conform our selfish individual wilfulness to the perfect will of Him by Whom we are sustained,

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this diversity of powers will doubtless give rise to jealousies, to rivalries, and heart-burnings among men; doubtless, therefore, there will always be the spirit of competition, the desire of superiority, existing abundantly among them. But is it indeed come to this,—in the middle of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, in this country which, as our friends of the *Eclectic Review* would tell us, possesses alone almost of the whole world, except the United States of America, the pure light of Gospel truth, undimmed by Papal superstitions, undissected by Rationalist investigation,—that the worship of this Devil of rivalry is gravely recommended by writers who claim to enjoy the brightest and most constant rays of the sun of Protestant truth? Let them look well to their position. For assuredly no form of Fetichism which their missionaries may combat in Africa is more clearly a Devil-worship than this which they advocate. But we tell them advisedly, we will not join in this worship. 'Be it known to thee, O King, that we will not bow down to the image of Gold which thou hast set up.' In the name of all that is holy in the achievements of art, in the name of all that is glorious in the triumphs of genius, in the name of all that man has ever done of great and noble upon this earth, in the name of God the Father of our race, do we protest against the doctrine that the Creator gives no other, purer, holier motives of exertion to mankind, than the desire of superiority. Not because we believe that men would be idle under a system of Communism is it that we are opposed, as we are opposed, to those who would propose as the ideal of Socialism, the absorption of the family in the commune. We oppose that system, because we believe that the family life is a divinely appointed and most important part of human society, and that it is not by destroying or weakening those bonds of mutual dependence by which the child is bound to the parent and the parent to the child, but by extending beyond the limits of the family circle that feeling of common interest which under the present instance stops short at the threshold of home, that the social regeneration of mankind will be achieved by the universal triumph of Christianity. While we would maintain, then, the sacredness of family ties, and, as a necessary consequence, the inviolability of individual property,—subject only to such modifications in the mode of its enjoyment as are required for the realization of that union of interests which association demands,—we look, as the moving principle of action, not to the selfish stimulus of competition between individuals or associations, but to that nobler motive imperfectly enunciated by our greatest naval hero

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as the prelude to his greatest achievement, and on the banner of the Social army would write this motto,

"*God expects every Man to do his Duty.*

"N. V. E."

Since the above article was written in reply to the *Eclectic Review*, the writer has had an opportunity of seeing a letter from the author of that review, written in a friendly spirit, professing his wish to forward the co-operative movement, but expressing at the same time his opinion, that in the form of that movement recommended by the writers of the *Tracts on Christian Socialism*, there is a tendency to centralization which he considers as injurious, and which, therefore, as a conscientious man, he could not but find fault with. The writer of the reply in the *Christian Socialist* desires to express the satisfaction which this explanation has given to him, and at the same time to disclaim any intention of treating otherwise than with respect the opinions of those who constitute the numerous body known in England as Independents or Congregationalists. He is well aware of the sincerity and earnest benevolence by which many eminent men among that body have been distinguished; and would hope, ere long, that the practical Christianity of co-operation will draw them together with others, from whom the intellectual differences of theology now hold them asunder. But with all respect for the Protestant independence by which men of this persuasion are distinguished, he cannot but feel that they stand much in need of more of that Catholic feeling of union out of which the desire of co-operation arises, and of which the present co-operative movement is, in his belief, a genuine result. He trusts that what he has said in his review of the tendencies of Congregationalism in certain respects, will be looked upon only as the earnest expression of this conviction.

APPENDIX B.

THE REASONER AND ROBERT OWEN'S JOURNAL.

It does not appear necessary to reproduce here an article entitled "A few words to the Reasoner," which appeared in No. 13

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of the *Christian Socialist*, p. 97. It will be sufficient to state that the *Reasoner*, whilst acknowledging common Socialist principles with ourselves, found fault with us for not "confining" our Christianity to our Tracts, "or some other proper place," so as to keep the proselytism of the Church distinct from social or political reform." The *Reasoner* has since reproduced the above referred-to article, and disclaimed further controversy, telling us that it is "far easier" for it "to combat Christianity when confounded with the gross topics of shillings and pence, than when it bears the proud and attractive pretensions of being an independent, a pure, and a sublime speculation."

With the *Reasoner* may be classed, to a certain extent, *Robert Owen's Journal*, which, whilst giving Christian Socialists "full credit for honesty of purpose and the best intentions, persists in declaring, contrary to our most constant teachings, that "the religions of the world are the sole cause of all its sin and wickedness, of its repulsive feelings, contests, and mad conflicts, and to which, while these religions govern man, there can be no cessation or termination."

APPENDIX C.

THE GUARDIAN, ETC.

THERE remains to be said a few words respecting the *Guardian* newspaper, which, since the date of my Lecture, has published a series of articles on "Christian Socialism," written in a not wholly unfriendly tone. The *Guardian* admits and deplores the intensity of the evil "of competition,"—"commends and believes in the efficacy of the remedy" of Working Associations; but it is unable to see that there is any Socialism in Working Associations, "unless every partnership be a Socialism also," and deems that co-operation may "guide, regulate, check—if you will, counteract—competition," but cannot "annihilate it;" so that "to set up such co-operations as in principle antagonistic (in the sense of completely subversive) of the natural law in question, appears to it as great a mistake, as it would be for a society for saving lives from shipwreck to call itself a society for putting down the law of storms."

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When the *Guardian* shall have discovered the *Socialism* of partnership, it will perhaps find less fault with our name. In the meanwhile, we shall be heartily glad of its support for our Working Associations, notwithstanding its attack upon our Christianity and Churchmanship, which cannot be here answered.

The Wesleyan organ, the *Watchman*, has also devoted an article to the "New Aspects of Socialism;" but as it adopts all the conclusions of the *Edinburgh Review*, though with far less of critical dogmatism in its tone, I need not here more particularly refer to it.

One kind of opposition the Associative Labour Movement has by this time outgrown—the vulgar abuse with which, shortly after the establishment of the first Working Association, a London daily paper—which for its own credit I will not name—spoke of those "disciples of the Père Maurice, who had taken up the shears and opened at least one co-operative tailors' shop in London;" whilst "others had put into circulation little slips of printed paper, quite worthy of the Luxembourg in nonsense, folly, and mischievous tendency."

THE END.

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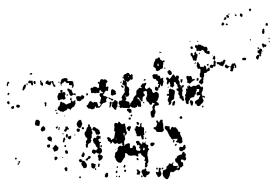

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